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THE

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CHRISTENDOM.

SECOND PART.

EXHIBITED IN

A SERIES OF PAPERS,

PREPARED AT THE INSTANCE OF

THE FRENCH BRANCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE,

AND READ AT

THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PARIS, 1855.

Published by Authority of the Council of the British Organization.

EDITED BY THE

REV. EDWARD STEANE, D.D.

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PREFACE.

The volume which the Editor has now the satisfaction of putting into the hands of the reader is one of great interest. It is a companion volume to that which he published after the London Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, in 1851; he has, therefore, given it the same title, only adding the words "Second Part."

It could not then have been anticipated that another assembly, similar in its character, would, after the lapse of so short a time, have been held in Paris. In concluding the preface to the former volume, the suggestion was, indeed, thrown out that periodically to bring together Christians of all nations "to survey the state of the whole Church on earth, and to take counsel together for the advancement of the great Christian commonwealth," was an object than which the Alliance could scarcely propose to itself a nobler; but, as in the former instance, so also in this, events occurring in the course of Divine Providence opened the way for the meeting, and presented facilities for holding it, in the absence of which, perhaps, it could not have taken place. Our French brethren, like ourselves, seized upon the occasion of the Paris Exposition of Arts and Industry, and turned it to this happy use.

The assembly was convened by the French Branch of the Alliance only, but in the preparations necessary to it the French and English Committees acted in concert. The Council of the British Organization, while most properly conceding to their French brethren the direction and management, were consulted by them whenever necessity arose, and gladly rendered such assistance as lay in their power.

That such an assembly should have been held in Paris is unquestionably a more extraordinary, and it may also be said a more significant event than the antecedent Conference in London. If the capital of the British kingdoms may be regarded as the focus and centre of Protestant influences, the capital of the French empire is, of all continental cities, not only that which possesses most power over the Papacy, but which exercises the largest influence upon the mind of Europe. It savours, no doubt, of the vanity and ambition of the man, but there is nevertheless much truth in the observation of the first Emperor Napoleon, that an idea to be popularised must pass through Paris. For the effect likely to be produced by such an assembly upon Christendom at large, it could not fail, under ordinary circumstances, to be more influential in that city than in London, or in any other. And it may reasonably excite surprise that it was not in some way prevented by the never-sleeping jealousy of the Ultramontane party of the Romish Church. Nor were we, at one period, altogether free from alarm on this ground. And, in reflecting upon the meeting, now that it is become a matter of history, and so many important results have flowed, and are still flowing from it, favour-

able to the Protestant cause, we cannot refrain from acknowledging a deep debt of thankfulness to the restraining hand of God, which held that unscrupulous and powerful foe in check. Indeed there were those who, to the last, looked forward to the Conference with serious apprehension, either that, from sinister causes, it would be attended by so small a number of persons as to invest its proceedings with insignificance, or that they would be so interfered with by adverse authority as greatly to weaken, if not altogether to destroy, their effect. On the latter of these points some remarks will be found in the Editor's Supplementary Statement, at the end of the volume, since such authority certainly made its existence to be felt. Here, however, it may be sufficient to observe, that whatever inconvenience was experienced in the earlier stages of the Conference, no damage was ultimately done to its most important results. These were at length attained, through the Divine blessing, in a manner to afford satisfaction to all. Nor in relation to the former was any disappointment suffered; on the contrary, the expectation of the most sanguine was probably surpassed, for the series of meetings were attended by not less than 1,200 persons, who came from fifteen different nations.

French was, of course, the language ordinarily used, and all the documents, with perhaps one exception, were read in French. Other tongues, however, were occasionally spoken; and it contributed in no small degree to the interest and extraordinary character of the meetings, that they were sometimes addressed in the rough gutturals of the Teutonic, at others in the sweet cadences of

the Italian, and then again in the soft and unaccustomed sounds of the Scandinavian speech.

Nothing could surpass the brotherly feeling and harmony which reigned to the close of the Conference. And what devout mind will hesitate to recognise, in this circumstance, the immediate action of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of all. The ever-abiding Comforter was there. His presence was consciously realised. His grace was felt. Hence the unction which breathed in the prayers, and the chastened yet earnest concurrence of multitudinous voices in the sweet melody of praise. It is unnecessary to say that devotional exercises commenced the proceedings, and pervaded them to the end.

It ought, however, to be especially mentioned, that twice during the meetings—the first time on the Lord's day, which came in the middle of them, and the second at their termination—the brethren met at the Lord's table. On both occasions the service was conducted in various languages. Prayers were offered and addresses delivered in French, German, and English; and at the second celebration the words of the Lord Jesus when he gave the bread, and again when he gave the wine, were pronounced in six languages—French, English, German, Dutch, Italian, and Swedish. The elements were distributed by pastors of the different Churches represented in the Conference. But it was not Babel: it was Pentecost of which all were reminded. The varieties of human speech occasioned no discord, and led to no misapprehension; for, however strange the sounds as they fell

upon the ear, they were all resolved into the sublime harmonies of the one faith and the one love the instant they touched the heart. When the Supper was ended, the whole multitude of Christian brethren united in the closing hymn and doxology, and the President pronounced the final prayer and benediction. And then, after a few moments' pause, there broke forth from the hearts of many brethren in succession thanksgivings to which their lips could scarcely give utterance, through strong though subdued emotion—first, to the "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in Heaven and earth is named," for the rich blessings which He had so graciously poured down upon His assembled children; and next, to the pastors and evangelical Christians of Paris, for the cordial reception they had given to their foreign brethren—foreigners, indeed, in one sense; but in another and a nobler, "foreigners and strangers no more, but," together with themselves and all the redeemed, "fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God."

It was a remarkable coincidence that the Conference was held in the same week which Her Majesty our gracious Queen spent in Paris on her visit to the Emperor. The circumstance is referred to, not from any imagined influence which it had upon the meetings, but that occasion may be taken to advert to the gratifying remarks heard from brethren, residing in different parts of the Continent, and especially from our French brethren themselves, on the manner in which Her Majesty passed the Sabbath-day. The abstinence of Her Majesty from the fêtes usually given on that day—the cessation,

indeed, of the fêtes at her special desire—and the privacy and religious quietude in which the day was spent by the Queen and her Court gave the highest satisfaction to the French Protestants, and led them to thank God that such an example of deference to His holy law had been set by the Queen of England in the metropolis of France. The British members of the Conference were all the more grateful, since Her Majesty thus greatly strengthened their hands in pleading for the inviolable sanctity of the Lord's-day.

It is proper to notice the absence from the meetings of some distinguished persons who were prevented from attending them by Providential circumstances. And first must be mentioned the Earl of Shaftesbury, from whom a communication was received, announcing the bereavement with which it had pleased God to visit him in the death of one of his sons, at Lausanne. The historian of the Reformation, the Rev. Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, was also detained at home by a distressing bereavement. And lastly, the Conference was deprived of the presence and the counsel of the Rev. Adolphe Monod, who sent messages of love to the brethren from the chamber of that deep personal affliction, which not long after terminated in his entrance upon the heavenly rest. They were specially commended in prayer, as were also all brethren who were known to be exercised with present trials, to the compassion and grace of Him who is "a very present help in time of trouble."

A volume, under the able editorship of the Rev. W. Monod, has been published in French, giving an account

of the proceedings of the Conference.* The present is not a translated reprint of that, but has been prepared with great care, and with the advantage of the original documents; and differs in some important respects from it. This difference consists principally in the circumstance that some of the documents are given at greater length, and that the conversations which ensued after they had been read are omitted, except in one or two particular cases. These conversations, however much they contributed at the time to the liveliness of the meetings, appeared to the Editor to possess no permanent interest, since they were not discussions designed to elicit important principles, or even to illustrate and confirm them, for such discussions were not allowed, as is noticed in the Supplementary Statement already referred to, but simply remarks that occurred to the speakers at the moment; and it was judged of less importance to preserve them than to give in their entireness papers prepared with great labour, and containing information both of present and lasting value.

The Editor is sensible of the imperfect manner in which he has executed the task confided to him, notwithstanding the able assistance he has received in the translation of the documents, whether from the French or the German language, assistance which he takes this opportunity of acknowledging with sincere thankfulness. He regrets also that the work has not made its appearance sooner. But he assures his readers that it has been no

* Conférence de Chrétiens Evangéliques de toute Nation, a Paris, 1855. Compte rendu publié au nom du Comité de l'Alliance Evangélique. Par Guillaume Monod. Paris: Libraire de Ch. Meyrueis et Co., Rue Tronchet, 2.

light matter to translate or superintend the translation of a volume of this magnitude, in the course of little more than twelve months, amidst the ever-pressing claims of a large pastorate, and the time and attention he has given to the business of the Alliance, and to the conduct of *Evangelical Christendom*, their monthly journal. Such as it is, he now presents the volume to his brethren of all sections of the Church of Christ, assuring them that they may gather from it information which will amply repay its diligent perusal, and the effect of which will be to bring them into loving and sympathetic relation with their Protestant fellow-Christians of almost all parts of the earth.

It seems scarcely possible to conclude these prefatory paragraphs without adverting to the approaching Conference about to be held in Berlin. For the third time since the formation of the Evangelical Alliance, in 1846, the invitation to re-assemble has gone forth to all the lovers of Christian concord throughout the whole world. If such a circumstance is not a sign of the times, in relation to the Church of Christ, it will be hard to say what event can be of sufficient significance to be regarded in this light. Let the ecclesiastical history of former centuries be searched and the instance be adduced, if it exists, in which, unmoved by the potentates of Christendom, and altogether apart from political and hierarchical influences—instigated only by the hidden fires which burn in the depths of her own bosom—the Church has sent forth her pastors and members from the four quarters of the globe, on no errand of polemical conflict, and for no purpose of ecclesiastical aggrandisement; but exclu-

sively for an object sublime as it is simple, to testify to her essential unity in spite of the forms of her manifold diversity. Whatever their import or their issues, these meetings are a new thing; nor can they be regarded by thoughtful men otherwise than as an ominous thing. When the freeborn citizens of Zion, in the magnanimous exercise of that liberty which is their birthright, meet together from many lands and many Churches—first, to recognise their common fealty to "The Prince of the Kings of the earth," and then to take counsel for the well-being and advancement of His spiritual kingdom, with intermingled supplications and prayers, and songs of solemn praise and saintly jubilee, as if it were even now about to achieve its final triumphs—let them be assured that such unprecedented occurrences come to them with messages of love and prophetic presage. They are the precursory symptoms and indications of a change which is coming upon the Church, and for which much that is taking place now is evidently designed to prepare her.

Apart from all theoretical views of what on the one hand should be found in the internal constitution and polity of the Church, and on the other of the relation in which she ought to stand to civil governments, no impartial observer but must perceive how, in all the nations of Christendom, she is practically hindered and thwarted in fulfilling her mission, while her free spirit is curbed by artificial forms, and her noble energies are pent up, and on every side fenced off from their legitimate expansion, by Confessional jealousies and ecclesiastical sectarianism. Too long she has lain prostrate and lifeless, though still retaining the semblance of stately devotion,

like the marble effigies on the tombs in her ancient cathedrals. But now a new impulse throbs in her bosom, and a new light is breaking on her eyelids; and, like Lazarus, she is springing forth at the majestic voice of the Son of God, bursting the cerements which bind her limbs, and claiming her long-lost life and freedom. A lofty destination beckons her onward, but before she is fitted to fulfil it she must be united and free. Some, at least, of her children, not in one country but in many, seem to understand the conditions of her future success, and have grasped them, we trust, with the strong hand of a victorious faith. Let them labour, by humble prayer and loving obedience to the new commandment, to bring back her primitive unity—not the unity which is enforced by logical definitions, as in Confessions and Creeds, nor by physical compression, as in the pains and penalties of civil intolerance—but the unity which springs from the inhabitation of the Spirit, the free and princely spirit of the saint's adoption. For, when with one voice she cries, Abba Father, and with one consent ceases from unbrotherly contentions—when her several communities, stretching out beyond the narrow limits of a denominational or even a national Christianity into the broad charities and the open sunlight of the common salvation, interchange the offices and privileges which belong alike to them all—when her individual members, no longer rejoicing in the conventional and unwarranted disparities which engender pride, and provoke resentment, are held in the fidelity of a magnetic adherence to the great central and exclusive authority and Headship of Christ; and by a diffusive, yet combining love, are drawn into adherence with one

another—then will she stand in an attitude which may at once betoken her own security, and make her the conservator of all that is most precious amidst the foretold desolations, when "the cities of the nations shall fall, and great Babylon come in remembrance before God."

And let it be suggested, in the forethought of those evil days, and the not doubted apprehension of their near approach, how solemn a duty devolves on that gathering of Christians which has given occasion to these remarks, in reference to those of our brethren who dwell in Popish countries, upon which the force of the storm will be spent. Ought there not to be the stretching forth of the hand of brotherly fellowship from such an association of believers, and the opening of friendly and sympathetic relations with them? Should they not be visited and comforted? Should we not put them—nor them only, but the true children of God also who may be found in the Papal Church itself—into circumstances to feel that whatever they may be called to suffer, and however difficult and perilous their position may become, there are loving hearts that pray for them, and willing arms to succour them, and many a home that will gladly receive them, when the pealing trumpet-voice from Heaven shall startle them with a call no longer to be resisted, "Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." A worthy design it would be, and who will deem it one of little magnitude or importance to send chosen and faithful brethren from that great assembly, the messengers of Christian love, who may speak words of truth and consolation to the elect *diaspora*, the scattered sheep

of the fold. Accessible they are now in many countries where, nevertheless, their liberties are abridged, and their worship is simply and scarcely tolerated. But even the doors now partially open may soon be entirely closed. The opportunity should be improved; and it would be difficult to say how either time or money could be better spent, and to what practical convergence the prayers and sympathies of the Conference could more properly be drawn.

May the God of all grace and mercy, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, put this concern for their brethren into the hearts of his people; and send forth the Comforter, the Dispenser of light and life and joy, to preside over that approaching solemnity, and so to sanctify and prosper all its consultations, that they may issue in the benefit of the whole Church of the redeemed on earth, and the eternal glory of their once-crucified and now enthroned Redeemer.

Champion Park, April 13, 1857.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

I.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY THE REV. DR. GRANDPIERRE.

II.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

BY THE REV. GEORGE FYSCH, LYONS.

III.

SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF CHRISTIAN UNION IN THE CEVENNES.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

(*August* 22, *Evening.—Church of Redemption.*)

The proceedings of the Conference were commenced by a meeting for prayer and other devotional exercises, in the Church of Redemption, on the evening of Wednesday, August 22nd. The Rev. L. Vallette, one of the pastors of the Lutheran Church, in whose sanctuary the assembly was held, presided; and prayer was offered by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, of the Baptist Church, in English, the Rev. G. Fisch, of the Evangelical Church of Lyons, in French, and the Rev. Dr. Krummacher, Chaplain to the King of Prussia, in German.

(*August* 23, *Morning.—Taitbout Chapel.*)

The next morning the Conference assembled in the Taitbout Chapel. After devotional exercises the Rev. Dr. Grandpierre, of Paris, who presided on this occasion, delivered the following introductory address :—

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY THE REV. DR. GRANDPIERRE.

Beloved brethren, who, from all parts of Europe, and even from the shores of the New World, have responded to the invitation we gave you, on the common ground of the everlasting Gospel and of the Communion of Saints, we welcome you. In the name of the thrice Holy God, the Father, who loved us, the Son, who redeemed us, and the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies

us, one God, blessed for evermore; in whom we love one another; in whom we desire to live and die, we salute you. We bless him for your presence in this capital, we rejoice in our solemn assembly in this place.

This assembly, which we would call œcumenical, if there were not too much pretension in the name, would be memorable, held in any place; it is especially so in this city, and on this day. God forbid that we should think of recriminating in the remembrance of the past; but facts are facts, and history is history, and facts and history are both the lessons and the consolations of Providence. It cannot have escaped your notice (not that we sought to produce the coincidence) that it is just three centuries ago, nearly day for day, the 24th, 25th, and 26th of August, of painful memory, that our forefathers, invited to a Royal feast, fell under the homicide's sword, either assassinated in the Louvre, or surprised in their houses, or pursued in the streets of this metropolis, or massacred throughout the whole kingdom. And now, in the same city, and when the Emperor of the French receives as a visitor to his palace the Protestant Queen of a large Protestant Empire, we, the descendants of those martyrs, invite to a spiritual banquet, not our co-religionists of France only, but of the whole world! And we do it freely, without fear or hindrance, that we may rejoice together in the presence of our heavenly Father, and confess boldly the name of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Again I say, praise the Lord!

And who has furnished us with this opportunity—perhaps unique—of drawing nearer to each other, of learning to know one another, and of strengthening the bands of our common faith and common charity? Politicians in their cabinets, manufacturers in their workshops, determined on having this universal Exhibition; and the Lord, "whom all things serve," inspired us with the thought of profiting by this extraordinary concourse of men, to convene this Evangelical Conference. If it is pleasing and instructive to admire, collected into the smallest possible space, all that the mind of man has been able to devise and execute, it is more delightful still, to Christians, to admire the various gifts which God has conferred on his Church. English Brethren, German, Swiss, Dutch, Belgian, Swedish, American, do you not promise yourselves some blessings from these meetings? Permit *me* to say, that *we* expect to derive

from them blessings still greater. We have need to be encouraged and strengthened; and we hope that your presence here, your speeches, and the manifestation of your sympathy, will promote this end. We often painfully feel the double pressure of infidelity and of superstition: on the one hand, the absence of religious convictions; on the other, the presence of false doctrines. Infidelity, sometimes sceptical, sometimes mocking, sometimes materialist, has predicted the fall of Christianity, without supplying anything to fill the void. You will show them that Christian faith, which they declare to be dead, is living in your hearts—in thousands of hearts—and that it is far from being extinguished. It cannot be taken from us, and were our adversaries to drive us from the earth, the Gospel would remain, to beget other Christians. There are some who, after having stigmatised us with the name of heretics, strive to destroy the confidence which the public have in us, and would banish us from society as dangerous men. To such you will say, that our *heresy* (holy and blessed heresy, which unites the soul to Jesus) is that of thousands and millions of Protestants throughout the entire world; that it gains ground year by year, and will end in conquering the world. You will tell such that this heresy, which they affect to describe as a principle tending to the dissolution of human society, is the foundation of the prosperity of nations, and that the countries most infected by it are among the most prosperous.

We wish that our hospitality equalled the cordiality of our affection; but there are three things which we have not been able to accomplish—first, to make Paris a Protestant city; next, to make the number of Protestants dwelling in it greater; and, thirdly, to impart to the Protestants who reside here, although comparatively few, a better understanding of the object and spirit of these Conferences. We are grateful to those who help us to receive you; and as to what may be lacking in our hospitality, we beg you to believe that we have done everything in our power to supply it; and, as our brethren on the other side of the Channel say, "to accept the will for the deed."

And now, dear brethren, pray that these solemn assemblies may be blessed. They will be, if we forget the secondary differences which divide us, and remember only the great points in which we are one. They will be, if we are animated by a spirit of union and forbearance before, during, and after our meetings.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

BY THE REV. GEORGE FYSCH,

LYONS.

When the Christian Church was founded, Christ and the Apostles taught her to understand her true nature. But the general or catholic Church soon began, after purifying herself from error, to renounce truth also, and at length became even a persecutor of the truth. The true notion of the Church perished; and that which was called by this name was a human society, imposing on its members an exclusive code of doctrines and forms.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was effected, not in the name of Love, which unites, but in the name of Fidelity, which often divides. Churches were formed, having for their basis sharply-defined doctrines and a uniform organization. Every age has its mission. The sixteenth century gloriously accomplished that to which it was called—the replacing of the light on the candlestick. But it laboured only in an imperfect manner, to realise the true idea of the Body of Christ. The different nations of Europe were separated by politics and by war. The Church of each was formed apart from the rest. Whole countries embraced the Reformation; and in the enthusiasm for the new doctrines which prevailed among their entire population, it was almost impossible to make the distinction which is so essential between spiritual life and spiritual death, between the Church and the world.

Three centuries have passed away. The religious map of the world has greatly changed. Commerce has brought nations nearer together, astonishing discoveries have almost annihilated

distances. In a few days, and without fatigue, the tour of Europe may be made. The triumph of religious liberty has been such, that, with the exception of a few cases of persecution, much to be regretted, the Church everywhere enjoys peace. In the bosom of those large Reformation Churches, which, during the last century, had nearly all fallen asleep, a revival has taken place; separating the true disciples of Christ from the multitude, who still remain indifferent and worldly. This revival is wonderful for its unity of principle and its diversity of forms. Everywhere it rallies around those great truths which are the foundation of the Christian's hope and the aliment of his spiritual life. From its commencement it was understood that the Gospel must be sent to the heathen. More slowly it was felt that this awakening should be directed to another purpose—that of proclaiming and developing the unity of life in the midst of diversity of forms. It was this that gave birth to the Evangelical Alliance. It is not difficult to see that the Alliance ought to occupy the centre of the labours of the Church. In the body of Christ, it ought to be like the heart; the source whence the blood flows, and whither it returns. But this position is lowly and concealed. The heart is not seen—its pulsations are felt.

The Alliance must live in retired self-collectedness, and in intimate communion with God. Its dwelling-place is the sanctuary. Its rendezvous, the throne of grace, where every disciple of Jesus should intercede for all the rest.

Having studied the principles on which the Evangelical Alliance is founded, let us now examine what it has done to realise them. The Conference of 1846, which laid the foundation of the Alliance, awakened lively sympathy; and it is not to be wondered at. There was something exceedingly grand and heart-stirring in the project of an Alliance of Christians from every part of the globe. The Conference was excellent, but a general disappointment was felt as to the positive results. It must be acknowledged that whilst such assemblies may serve to manifest a spirit of love, and to increase it, they cannot extemporise an organization sufficiently pliable and comprehensive to satisfy the wants of the universal Church. The time devoted to the Conference was too short for such a work, and Christians of different nations were not equally represented. Those who met were afraid of going to the root of delicate questions, lest the deplorable sight

of Christians not being able to agree should be offered to the world. The basis fixed in London did not satisfy the Continent. The question of slavery, although foreign to the nature of the Alliance, was introduced, and very nearly crushed it. All felt at the close of the proceedings that the definitive organization of the Alliance must be adjourned to another Conference. Humanly speaking, the undertaking was a failure; but these disappointments tended to insure its ultimate success. It was brought back to the day of small things. During these periods of formation, the Evangelical Alliance disappeared in part. America did not accept it. The British Organization remained a small society, much less influential than was expected. Germany followed the example of America, and the French Branch was formed amidst so much opposition, that it was hard to believe a thing so frail could survive.

Five years passed away in this manner, but the Evangelical Alliance involved a great truth and immense good; and the Lord himself nourished the feeble sapling He had planted. Events helped its growth. The Exhibition of All Nations in London was, in the domain of industry, what the Alliance is in the kingdom of grace. The Crystal Palace, in which the productions of so many countries were concentrated in so astonishing a variety, was a symbol of that spiritual edifice filled with pure light, in which God brings together the universal productions of His grace; and Christians out of every people, language, and nation. A second general Conference was convoked, but our English brethren had the wisdom not to make it a constituent assembly. The idea of the Conference of 1851 was suggested by the Exhibition. It was a study of the Evangelical statistics of different countries. Then it was seen that this feeble and powerless Evangelical Alliance was the only institution among all the religious associations that was able to make an appeal which should reach the ends of the earth; that it represented a principle of universality which, up to that period, had been wanting in Protestantism; and that it could render an immense service to the entire Church, by enabling her to take a general view of her wants, and of her labours. It employed the most powerful of all arguments; it legalised its position by the good it conferred.

Let us now follow the Evangelical Alliance through the different countries of the world, and see what it has accomplished.

I. And first for Great Britain. Let us observe it in the bosom of that powerful nation, which possesses so many claims to our admiration, and which it now affords us so much pleasure to call our beloved ally. We begin with England. The Alliance encountered a double obstable in the respective positions of the great denominations. On the one hand, an Established Church, rich, powerful, and containing a large body of men distinguished as much by their piety as by their attainments and their talents. On the other, a large aggregate of Dissenting denominations, active, zealous, and congregating in their twenty thousand chapels nearly as many hearers as the Established Church. Ever since the Act of Conformity, Church and Dissent have been in a state of permanent antagonism. It may be easily imagined what a wall of prejudices was opposed to an Evangelical Alliance in England previously to the last twenty years, and before political and social emancipation was conceded to the Dissenters.

In Scotland the state of things was different. At the birth of the Evangelical Alliance, a Free Church, influential and numerous, had taken up its position by the side of the old dissent; the different fractions of which had just formed by their fusion a United Presbyterian Church. This name was itself a precious pledge to the Evangelical Alliance. It should also be stated, that from Scotland the first appeals came which secured the Conference in London, and the most eminent men of that country were found at the head of the movement.

The situation of Ireland was somewhat less favourable, because, on the larger part of her territory, the Episcopal Church stands almost alone; while, in the north of the island, she encounters the Presbyterian Church, nearly equal in numbers, which sometimes occasions painful collisions. If we now examine what has been done in Great Britain, and look at the Alliance as an organized society, we shall be obliged to admit that it has gained little ground up to the present time. In 1853, it only numbered 6,200 members for the three kingdoms. But what is this figure, when we remember that, in England alone, there are at least 24,000 places of worship, in which the Gospel is preached in all its purity?

It must also be added, that a considerable number of the most eminent men connected with the Kingdom of Christ have hitherto not joined the Alliance. How is the fact to be explained, that so many thousands of English Christians, all making

gigantic efforts for the cause of their Master, remain estranged from a work which ought, as it appears to us, to have the first place in their affections?

To judge correctly, however, of the progress of the Alliance in England, we must consider the institution itself less than the principle which it is its chief design to advocate. In a work exclusively spiritual, which lives through love, that is to say, through a sentiment, official adhesions have only a subordinate value. There are many Christians who in heart are members of the Alliance, but who refuse to be so on paper, because either they do not see the necessity of being enregistered, or are opposed to it. The Alliance itself is, however, not on that account the less useful, since it embodies a truth which is gaining ground beyond its ranks. In numberless parts of England the different denominations of Christians are on excellent terms with each other. The Young Men's Christian Association is but an Evangelical Alliance among those who will shortly take our places. City Missions are the Evangelical Alliance applied to the Evangelization of the masses. The Protestant Alliance, again, is the Evangelical Alliance applied to the defence of the Reformation. Many other societies are constituted on the same basis. An Association founded last year on the same broad principle, to help the American Missions (in Turkey), has accomplished considerably more than the Alliance in uniting together Christians on both sides of the Atlantic. The labours of Continental Christianity obtain more and more the cordial co-operation of English Christians of every denomination; and, recently, collections made in favour of a particular Church in France, was patronised by a committee composed of eminent men of all the Churches of Great Britain.

It may, therefore, be said in truth, that the British Branch of the Alliance, notwithstanding the limited measure of sympathy with which it has been favoured, has already accomplished much good; although this has been indirectly effected rather than by its own immediate action. It has embraced every opportunity of bringing Christians together. Thus, in the spring, amidst the sufferings and the mourning occasioned by the war, it convened meetings for public prayer, which were deeply impressive and blessed. No case of persecution has arisen, but the Alliance has immediately interfered in favour of the suffering members of Christ's body. It has, in such cases, sometimes sought the co-

operation of the Protestant Alliance, and these two Societies have sent joint representations to their Government. The two publications in connexion with the Evangelical Alliance, *Evangelical Christendom*, and *The Christian Times*, have rendered the most signal services in the department of religious statistics.* They have recently been followed by an excellent periodical, in Scotland, entitled, *The News of the Churches*.

We must also mention the attempts made by the English Branch to promote union among the different Missionary operations. There are, in England, many large societies, whose united receipts amount to nearly half a million for Missionary labour among the heathen; it was evidently a desirable thing to bring these institutions into nearer connexion with each other, with a view to a better division of their Missionaries' efforts. A Conference was held in London to consider the question, with good practical results. By a similar united action, a memorial was presented to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, signed by the Secretaries, or representatives, of almost all the religious societies in London, in favour of religious liberty in Turkey. The Evangelical Alliance offers to all religious societies a common ground on which they can meet and be of one mind; and what hopes may we not entertain when we behold them in united prayer, seeking the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, without whom every effort must be fruitless?

The British Organization has also been engaged with the subjects of Popery, infidelity, and the sanctification of the Lord's-day. It has called forth several useful publications on these subjects; and on this ground, again, it merits public gratitude. But it still appears to us very important that the Alliance should not, by these things, be drawn away from its true design.

II. We pass on, secondly, to the Branch speaking the French language. Here the ground was eminently favourable to the Evangelical Alliance. In France, Protestantism is a minority of a million and a half among more than thirty millions of souls. Its retrospect is a humble and sanguinary history of three centuries of persecution. When the Government consented to

* The former of these is the official organ of the Alliance. The latter is not officially connected with it, though it was projected, and is supported, by members of the Alliance, and is conducted in conformity with its principles and design. Both journals contain much Continental religious intelligence, besides what is of a statistical nature.—Ed.

acknowledge and to pay the ministers of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, it did so, not on the ground of their being State Churches, but of equality of worship. These Churches cannot forget their past history; indeed, they have only to cast their eyes on that powerful Roman Church which is so rich and so haughty, to understand the position they occupy in the nation. There are also Independent Churches, several of which, composed of proselytes from Rome, possess the full sympathy of the Evangelical members of the national Church. These Churches have succeeded, by their activity and their labours, in winning the esteem of all Christians. Some of the most illustrious men in the Protestantism of France and of French Switzerland have been the representatives of the principle of Independency. The Evangelical Alliance meets with fewer obstacles when the different denominations live together on a footing of equality. How is it possible not to feel that quarrels among Christians are most disastrous when these are under a common pressure, and are obliged to unite to avoid destruction?

The national character is also favourable to the cause of the Evangelical Alliance. The constitution of the French mind is such, that it easily lays hold of a principle, separates it from everything extraneous, and gives it that severe, logical, and precise form, through which it will make its way in the world. When the prominent traits of the Evangelical Alliance were exhibited to the Christians of France, they immediately embraced them. We may also add, that, except in a few instances, the Evangelical Alliance in France was not established as an organised society. It has not any enrolled members. There are certainly committees and regular Conferences, but it considers all true Christians as its members. It seldom asks for the signature of those who adhere to its principles. Its organization is so slight, that it is scarcely perceptible, and yet it is sufficient for all its need. The Alliance really lives among us, and it may be truly said that it is become the most powerful means of revival. The religious movement in connexion with the Evangelical Alliance in the South of France, is one of the most encouraging facts in its young history. The Conferences held at Montmeyran and at Vigan were accompanied by a true pentecostal blessing. The fraternal meetings held annually at Lyons are the most powerful means of Evangelization for that great city. These Conferences are of a peculiar nature; they

are not formal meetings, with platform orators chosen beforehand, and written reports and resolutions. The blouse, as well as the black coat, is there. Every place is represented by the brethren present, whether peasants, workmen, or simple colporteurs. Brotherhood is realised, not only as to denominations, but also as to social distinctions. Speeches give place to familiar conversations, and it is truly a family party. Each brother informs the assembly of the spiritual wants of the neighbourhood in which he resides. The interests of that portion of Christ's body is then made the subject of prayer. Often five or six brethren pray spontaneously, one after another. Oh, what joy is visible on the countenances of the brethren as the feeble, the isolated, and the little ones all quit the meeting, strengthened in the inner man! Ought we to be at all astonished that these Conferences are everywhere followed with a blessing, and that in a measure they open the channels of Heaven? This is, in our opinion, the true form that the Evangelical Alliance should take. It is its privilege to remove everything that hinders the knitting of heart to heart, the cordial and free interchange of sentiment, the unrestrained action of the Holy Spirit. On this point, also, its tendency is to vivify the Church, too much in danger of allowing herself to be imprisoned in dead forms.

There are two other Associations in France, one of which has just joined the Alliance, and the other, we hope, will not much longer delay; these are the Conferences of the Two Charantes and of Cevennes. These Conferences have been richly blessed, and we doubt not that they will grow in importance every year. Fraternal meetings have been held in French Switzerland for a considerable period, but of late years they have greatly increased; so that it may be said the Evangelical Alliance prospers under this form in French Switzerland. In Geneva, it has more of a formal organization; the committee is exceedingly zealous, and a large number of members are inscribed on the books.

The Belgian division of the Alliance has not been inactive. No opportunity has been omitted of uniting the brethren. It is more especially prosperous in Brussels, where regular meetings have been held, and where great harmony exists among Evangelical Christians. A sub-division has also been formed in Hainault.

We now come to the important alteration in the doctrinal basis, which has been adopted by the French Branch. This point must be treated of more at large, as it is the most important modification which has been made in the Alliance since its formation.

The doctrinal basis agreed upon in London, in 1846, did not satisfy the few Christians from Continental countries who were present at the Conference. They accepted it, even voted for it, as a feeble minority desirous of preserving union should do. They were not, however, prepared to defend it; and very soon after were convinced that it was an obstacle to the progress of the Alliance on the Continent. It was deemed not sufficiently affirmative, and too extended. It resembles more an "Index of Subjects" than a direct declaration of the great truths which Christians hold in common. Two or three of its articles touched on points controverted among Christians; and it also excluded many living members of the Church of Christ. The Evangelical Alliance should include all Evangelical Christians—that is, every person who seeks the truth in the Scriptures alone. The basis of the Alliance should cover all the ground occupied by such; and proclaim all the great truths they hold in common, to the exclusion of those questions on which they differ. It should be as explicit in the profession of the one, as it should be absolute in the omission of the other. Such are the principles which have guided us in drawing up the new doctrinal basis upon which this universal Conference is gathered.

As truth is an organic whole, and not a collection of isolated principles, we have connected this short confession of faith with the three persons in the adorable Trinity; and the special work of each in the salvation of sinners. We did not at once arrive at this point, it is true. We were at first stopped by a formula which called up grave objections. Last year, in our general assembly held at Lausanne, we completed our first draft. The basis now agreed on rallies around it all Christians speaking the French language; and we know that several other Branches have adopted it, or are quite ready to do so.

We shall, perhaps, be told that we have made a revolution. We do not dissemble the importance of the change we have made. It was necessary to find a means of altering the basis for ourselves, while we left others at the same time at liberty to continue it in its original form. We could do this only by quit-

ting the idea of uniform organization for that of federalism. An universal Evangelical Alliance, intended to unite innumerable divergences, must allow Christians of every nation an entire liberty, not only in framing their organizations, but also in fixing the formula by which they may choose to set forth the common truth. This truth does not appear to all under the same aspect, and it is the diversity in the expression of the same fundamentals, which constitutes the beauty of the confessional movement of the 16th century.

It was their variety which manifested the identity of their testimony. In politics federation is the only method of gathering great diversities into the same unity; as is seen in Switzerland, in Germany, and the United States. This ought to be the true form of the Evangelical Alliance.

We were constrained to adopt the principle of federalism, and we feel the assurance that the entire Alliance will follow us.

III. Let us now pass the Rhine and visit the Germanic Confederation. To have a correct view of religious Germany, we must first understand the character which the Reformation assumed in that country. Welcomed by the people, it was supported by the Princes, who regulated its action and constituted churches closely connected with the civil power. Two great events then took place. First, the deplorable rupture between the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches. This breach prevented the unity of the Reformation, and occasioned the exterior dislocation of Protestantism. Doubtless God had his plans in the rent made in the Reformation; but Satan had his also. This schism caused rivalries and jealousies, which, more than any other cause, arrested the extension of Protestantism in Germany; and, at times, brought it to the very brink of ruin. The other event referred to, and which occurred at this epoch, exercised an incalculable influence on the views of Germany as to differences in matters of religion. When the current of free thought which boiled over in those days of renovation had overflowed the bed made for it by the Reformers, it did not stop until it had reached the extravagancies of Munster and of John of Leyden.

Ever since the horrors of Anabaptism, the remembrance of orgies and of blood is connected with whatever, to use the language of our brethren beyond the Rhine, breaks away from the limits of the Church. At the close of the 17th century,

two remarkable revivals took place in Germany, almost simultaneously: the movement connected with the Moravians, and that associated with the name of Spener, generally called pietism, or methodism. Both avoided breaking the bonds which united them to the great bulk of Protestants. The former constituted themselves into colonies, governed by laws severe and mild at the same time. The latter endeavoured to form what Spener called small Churches within the Church; *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*, but carefully avoided everything which had the appearance of separation. Then followed the admirable revival of the existing Germany—a revival slow, progressive, but solid, keeping pace with the advance of science. It is not a movement from without, but from within; it is not an impulsion given by a few men, but by the creating breath of the Divine Head of the Church. In this revival the greater part of the various religious shades of difference have avoided all separation from the National Church. The question of baptism forms a most remarkable exception to this general rule. The recollections of the 16th century, the place which the baptism of infants occupies in the Lutheran Church, and the absence of Registration in the greater part of Germany, are the chief causes of the opposition it encounters. In most of the smaller States it is absolutely proscribed. The struggle on the contested point has not yet been carried into the domain of science, properly so called, but remains a controversy of detail; and, on this account, is the more liable to engender bitterness and personalities. There are, however, thank God, in Germany many eminent men, who acknowledge their antagonists to be disciples of Jesus Christ, and give them most cordially the right hand of fellowship. It must, however, be also stated, that there are many others whose brotherly love is found wanting in this matter. It is very important that we should, by our prayers, support our German brethren; both those who have not yet learned to bear with the divergence of opinion on religious subjects, and those who are persecuted for conscience' sake, exposed as they are to unjust prejudices and evil treatment. The struggle cannot continue much longer in its present phase. The moment must come when baptism shall live peacefully, side by side, with the National Churches; and it will have rendered by its fidelity a signal service to the religion of Germany, not only from the stand-point of religious liberty, but also of Christian Union.

We shall now endeavour to give an account of the progress which the spirit of union has made in Germany. And, first, the attempt should be mentioned of the late King of Prussia to unite the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in his dominions. The Princes who, in the 16th century, legislated for the Reformation in their States, were, for the most part, noble servants of God, desirous of employing their temporal power in the service of their Saviour. The King of Prussia, when he endeavoured by Royal decrees to put an end to ancient divisions, acted in the same spirit. Imprudence and abuse of power may be discovered in the act, but in taking this review we feel pleasure in contemplating a Royal testimony to some of our principles. We must also acknowledge that the United Church of Prussia, established on the basis of union in things essential, and liberty in minor points, contains many men of large heart and Christian spirit.

In the south of Germany there is a small State, the religious and scientific importance of which is out of all proportion to the number of its inhabitants. We refer to Wurtemberg. From the beginning the Reformation in that country bore the character of moderation. The two Churches co-operated, and removed from themselves whatever was exclusive towards each other. Piety flourished there more than in any other part of Germany. It is the missionary garden of Germany, and thence it is that the Missionary Institute of Basle receives its principal recruits. There is something solid and weighty in the character of the Wurtemberg Christians, which gives them immense influence in Germany. It was in Wurtemberg that the first germ of the Kirchentag sprang up, and to which we must now lend our serious attention, because of its analogy to the Evangelical Alliance.

This great and excellent movement resembles, in many of its essential elements, that in which we have taken part. Composed of believers, who meet without distinction as to pastors or laymen, admitting as members not only the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, but also the Moravian, the Kirchentag is certainly our near relative. We owe it the most lively sympathy, and sincerely hold out to it the right hand of fellowship. We send deputations to its general assemblies, and we trust that our two Associations will increase in brotherly intercourse.

It may be said that the Kirchentag has retarded the progress

of the Evangelical Alliance in Germany, by seeming to render it superfluous. It enjoys the advantage of having arisen in the heart of the nation, and without the colour of foreign influence; so that it may be asked whether, in Germany, the Alliance should not merge into the Kirchentag, or whether they should live side by side as two sisters. Our firm conviction is, that far from being injurious the one to the other, they are destined to strengthen and to render each other most important services. The Kirchentag is an association called to watch over the spiritual infirmities of Germany, and to apply to them the balm of the Gospel. Above all, it is German. The Evangelical Alliance, on the contrary, is of no nation. Its true meaning and the secret of its strength, are in its universal character. The Kirchentag and the Alliance are, therefore, two allies engaged in the same warfare; each fights under its own banner, but they join, most happily, their respective forces and are the complement of one another.

The Evangelical Alliance has been established in Germany by the side of the Kirchentag, and in its own peculiar form. Immediately after the Conference of 1846, a Branch of the Alliance was formed by the Revs. Dr. Barth, of Calw, Plitt, of Heidelberg, Kuntze, of Berlin, Reinthaler, of Erfurth, Koenig, of Mayence, and Treviranus, of Bremen. They published a joint appeal to their brethren. The alarms caused by the explosion of German Catholicism and the "Friends of Light," followed by the immense revolutions of 1848, absorbed the public mind, and the Alliance was forgotten. The Conference of 1851 gathered around it a larger number of German brethren. We had the joy of seeing and hearing, at that time, many of those whom Germany most esteems.

The German Branch of the Alliance has its centre at Berlin; the Rev. Mr. Kuntze is its President, and it publishes a periodical, called "*The Church of the Lord.*"

Its meetings do not make much noise, but they are, nevertheless, blessed, although only a few are accustomed to collect together at those banquets of brotherly love. There is only one association connected with it—that of Hersfeld, in Hesse; but it has members scattered abroad throughout the country. Our present Conference should strengthen the cause of the Alliance in Germany, which ought to render great service to the Church in times so serious as these.

IV. The north of Europe claims our attention next. We find there three Protestant countries, Holland, Denmark, and the kingdom of Sweden and Norway.

Attempts to establish the Evangelical Alliance in Holland date from the Conference of 1851. The subject was introduced by some of our Dutch brethren who were then present, in a Conference which had existed in Holland for some years previously, having for its object the promotion of the interests of the kingdom of God; but they encountered opposition, on account of the preponderance which it was thought the Baptist element appeared to have in the Alliance. In 1853, after the Papal Aggression, our brethren again mooted the question, and an Evangelical Protestant Alliance was formed, which united brethren of all denominations. The basis was, the nine articles of the London Conference. It employs a certain number of colporteurs and Evangelists. It has not yet as much of the sympathy of Dutch Christians in general as could be desired; but it is only in its first stage, and we hope it will eventually prosper.

We have reason to believe that a Danish Branch will be shortly formed. A Danish pastor of great influence, and a member of the State Chambers, proposes to introduce into the constitution an article, stating that "the National Church ought to include all those confessions which adopt the Apostolic faith." This would be a breach in the exclusive domination of Lutheranism.

We next come to Sweden. In this country, which touches the Polar ice, in the midst of an energetic and intelligent people, the Evangelical Alliance has been developed with as much spontaneousness as enthusiasm. Like Denmark, Sweden is Lutheran. She has retained in her worship the hierarchy and a part of the ritual of the Roman Church. The ministers of the Established Church are called Priests; and, for three centuries, no Swede could change his religion without losing, at the same time, his citizenship. Such a country, when a religious awakening has taken place, needs, more than any other, the Evangelical Alliance. The new life, springing forth in plentiful streams, had cut out for itself various channels. There were the *Schartauans*, who refuse to associate with more than two or three persons, lest they should unite with unbelievers; the *Readers* of the Established Church; the *Separatists*; and, lastly, the *Baptists*. The opposition was very violent, and the more so through the intervention of

the Government. It was at such a period that the Evangelical Alliance was formed. Conferences, similar to those in Holland, were held in Scane in 1850; and, by their means, a periodical was published, called "The Evangelical Friend of the Church." The useful magazine of our friend Mr. Braud, "*Le Bulletin du Monde Chrétien*," awakened in one of the members of those Conferences the desire to establish a branch of the Evangelical Alliance. A letter from the excellent President of the English Branch, Sir Culling Eardley Eardley, still further encouraged our Swedish friends. In 1852, a sub-division of the Alliance was formed in Scane. The following year, a Swedish Branch was established in Stockholm, and held its first assembly in a large meeting, at which several members of the Chambers were present. From that moment the Alliance has rapidly gained ground.

Swedish Christians, who are a feeble and oppressed minority, have found in it a support and a source of strength. We have reason to hope that the Alliance will make immense progress in Sweden. A Norwegian division is on the point of being formed.

V. We have nothing, as yet, to say concerning the Protestant provinces of Russia, nor of Bohemia, Hungary, or Austria. In those countries there are, however, brethren who look with hope and confidence towards the Evangelical Alliance. Its peaceful and quiet character will permit its being established in those countries, where associations of a more aggressive nature would be forbidden; and it will serve as a spiritual bond, as an encouragement and a consolation, to scattered brethren who groan under difficulties of every kind.

The Alliance has not yet accomplished anything in German Switzerland, although several attempts to establish a Branch have been made.

VI. Crossing the Alps we look on Italy, a country which has many claims on the sympathy of Evangelical Christendom. A few years ago it would have been cruel mockery to speak of a Branch of the Alliance in Italy. It is true, the Church of the Vaudois was there, the only Church which has never been reformed—because it was never Papist—equally loved and equally hailed with joy by all denominations. It was a small population bordering on France, which the Branch speaking the French language claimed as its own. We have no Committee formed in the Valleys at present, although several of our Vaudois brethren have, in some of our different Conferences, addressed to us

the most fraternal letters. But a work is now being carried on in Italy which affords the brightest prospects for the future; and which, we hope, will connect itself with the Evangelical Alliance. The French Central Committee have written to our brethren in Piedmont, requesting that this may be the case. We are persuaded that the Evangelical Alliance will be an unspeakable advantage to this young, but vigorous and generous Italian revival, which, although most nobly tolerated in the Sardinian States, is as cruelly persecuted elsewhere. It will enable our brethren who have so lately come out of Popery to understand the true character of Evangelical Christianity.

VII. From Italy we turn our eyes to the East, which, at the present moment, absorbs the attention of the entire world. At this very moment, when a quiet but profound revolution is taking place in the ancient Ottoman Empire, a Turkish Branch of the Evangelical Alliance has sprung into existence. It was established at Constantinople on the 10th of April last, when eighteen ministers of different denominations met together in the most delightful harmony of feeling. It adopted the French basis, and has been regularly received, both by the French and the English Branches. This fact has caused us the most lively joy; it cannot but have an immense influence on the evangelization of the Turkish Empire. Among old and extensive awakenings, which have been frequently torn by religious discords, the Alliance has to encounter prejudices so strong, that the magnitude of the evils often neutralises the remedy. When, on the contrary, it is associated from the beginning with a rising work, it impresses upon it its own character, and penetrates it with its spirit. We shall hope soon to see a division of this new Branch formed in Jerusalem—the cradle of the Church, and the witness of that first Evangelical Alliance, when all who believed were of one heart and of one soul.

VIII. If from Europe we pass on to the field of missionary labour, we meet with Divisions of the Alliance in the Indies and in the Antilles. We know, also, that the excellent publication, "Evangelical Christendom," is much appreciated in China, and even spreads our principles there.

We have every reason to hope that a Branch will be formed in Australia, and that ere long the Evangelical Christians of the entire globe will form one immense network of brotherly communication.

IX. Let us, in conclusion, visit America, on which Europe is looking with so much interest and hope. How can we help loving that great people, among whom Protestantism has wrought such marvels, and exercises, without restraint, its civilising power. We beg our brethren from that country to allow us to give them the hand most cordially in the Lord's name and in that of the Evangelical Alliance.

We are persuaded that if they have not yet accepted the Alliance (for the small Association founded under this name at New York remains almost unperceived in the midst of the abundant labours of their thirty thousand Churches), their exists amongst them an admirable soil for the bringing forth of all its fruits.

England is divided, almost equally, between the Established Church and the different denominations of Dissenters. Germany offers little but State Churches. France presents us with a feeble Protestant minority in the midst of a Roman Catholic country. America is a great Protestant nation without a single State Church. The result is, that the equality of the different Protestant communions, which in France is realised as a fact, is in America a right, and is carried out on the largest scale. This, however, is one of the difficulties with which the Evangelical Alliance has there to contend. It does not appear to be necessary, because its principles are already represented in the amicable relations which already exist among the different denominations.

We shall, nevertheless, take the liberty of submitting a few observations to our American brethren, designed to show them, that if there is a country to which the Alliance ought to commend itself, it is theirs. And, first, it is a bond, not only between Christians of the same nation, but between Christians of the whole world. Many causes tend to isolate America from Europe. The greater she becomes, the more will she be inclined to believe that she is sufficient for herself, and to be proud of the gigantic progress she makes, and to separate herself by her own turn of mind from that old Europe, the anxieties and complications of which she must often pity. The Evangelical Alliance, rightly understood, is able to render to America as well as to Europe inestimable services; being as a religious bond to nationalities still more widely separated by their constitutions than by the ocean.

Secondly; do our American friends deem that the intercourse existing between the different donominations is all that it should

be? As long as there shall be divers communions there will be two classes of Christians; those of Catholic hearts, who will love all who are of God, and narrow-minded Christians, who only see Jesus Christ in His entireness in their own sect. The Evangelical Alliance is an association opposed to a sectarian spirit; it acts upon it as light upon darkness, and the sun upon the ices of winter. It dissipates prejudices, and melts antipathies by the power of love.

Lastly, there are few countries in which the want of a common centre for the Church must be more strongly felt. What a diversity of climate, institutions, and views! What an enormous distance separates California from the banks of the Mississippi; New England from Florida and Louisiana! Everywhere there are active and zealous denominations, emulating each other by a holy competition and rivalry. Great is the need of a common bond which shall preserve their unity and harmonise their divergencies. The Evangelical Alliance, in its broad spirit, appears to us necessary to guard all this activity and to render it fruitful. This delightful manifestation of a principle, which the multiplicity of sects tends to veil, would become, in so rich a field, a means of new awakenings and larger blessings.

There is a second difficulty which the Alliance encounters in the United States. And now we are about to touch on a delicate question; but which we cannot omit, without overlooking one of the most important phases of our subject.

We approach it, however, without fear; for if there is an Association which is at once frank and forbearing, it is the Evangelical Alliance. We alone are responsible for the opinions we shall express on this point; and we beg that they may not be discussed in this meeting. The calm appreciation which a written report allows would be lost in the warmth of an oral controversy.

We are fully persuaded that the American Branch of the Alliance should absolutely interdict in its meetings all mention of the Slavery Question. No person, certainly, can deplore more than we do, an institution which makes our American brethren groan so heavily, and of which they will rid themselves the more promptly for our interfering the less. But the Alliance is a principle in which we have faith for every exigency. There will be immense danger in establishing terms

of admission which Jesus Christ has not established, in order to an entrance into His invisible kingdom. If you exclude the holders of slaves, our brethren of Maine, and of Vermont, where strong drinks are proscribed, may, in their turn, admit only the advocates of total abstinence. The best way not to go too far in this path is, not to enter on it at all. But can the American Branch admit as members Christians holding slaves, without breaking with the British Branch, which has excluded them. If the Alliance were one and indivisible, the objection would be fatal; but, on the principle of federalism, it falls to the ground.

Our English brethren have agreed not to admit, as a member of their Association, any Christian being a slave-owner; but they would not refuse to fraternise with him as a member of the American Branch; or, to speak more correctly, as a member of the Church of Christ. The different States of a confederation may have local laws opposed to each other in many points; but this does not hinder them from constituting one body. In the same manner, each Branch of the Alliance may lay down for itself certain rules; but the members of the Branches may, notwithstanding such differences, give the hand of fellowship to each other, in the name of that superior bond which the love of Christ has established between all those who call upon His name.

CONCLUSION.

We may now attempt to sum up the statements we have made. The Evangelical Alliance has already traversed two distinct periods. During the first five years of its existence, its beginning was obscure and humble. It might almost be said, that it died in its birth, so little did it attract public attention. The Conference of 1851 proved that it was alive, and that it had prospered in the shade. The last four years have witnessed a more rapid development of its principles. Four new Branches have been formed within that time, and the Alliance presents itself to-day, to this Conference, as an important fact. Twice it has already given to Evangelical Christendom a precious and solemn rendezvous in the first two capitals of the world. It is conscious of its existence. It knows that its principle is from God, and, like all the essential truths belonging to the Church, it must ultimately triumph. It advances with faith, with deter-

mination; but also with that calmness peculiar to every work which has confidence in itself, and feels that it can afford to wait.

It has, however, more than its principles to recommend it; it can refer to its works. Everywhere it has succeeded in softening controversy and breaking down prejudices, without demanding the sacrifice of individual conviction. It has lifted up its voice in favour of brethren persecuted for the faith, no matter what their particular opinion may have been. We are aware that some persons have blamed it for this intervention; they have thought that it compromised its principles, and that it identified itself with the views of those for whom it interceded. We, on the contrary, believe that it has thus earned one of its best titles to commendation. Other societies may plead the cause of the oppressed as a question of religious liberty or of sectarian interests; the Alliance desires to relieve Jesus Christ, living and suffering, in His people. This is a duty the urgency of which admits of no compromise; and should our Alliance lose any of its adherents, as the consequence of these fraternal interventions, we shall console ourselves with the thought that such parties were not ripe to enter its ranks.

Whilst thinking of our beloved Madiai, now at liberty, we will bless God, who condescended to encourage us by so gratifying a trophy of charity.

With confidence, then, we present the claims of the Alliance to those Christians who have not yet joined it in spirit or in fact. We look to the future. The present comparative peace which Christians enjoy is a season of seed-sowing, of preparation, of gathering together; but Evangelical truth must expect soon to be engaged in new struggles, deeper and more general than any it has yet had to encounter. The abyss which was opened before our eyes, a few years since, is only covered over; it is not filled in. One shock would be sufficient to open its mouth wider than ever, and we should then see the treatment which is preparing for us by a generation ravenous of carnal pleasures, and hostile to Christianity. The great question, therefore, is, whether, in prospect of such tempests, we should remain isolated, or endeavour to gather together the scattered members of the body of Jesus Christ. There are, apparently, three possible solutions of the difficulties of our situation. The first is the sectarian spirit. We can conceive a greater union to be effected among Christians, by the extension of the particular denomination to which

we ourselves belong, so as to absorb all other sects. This is the solution which the Church of Rome proposes. More sectarian than any other—for she only dares to say, "Out of me there is no salvation"—she endures the severest losses with a courage that cannot be shaken. After the great Eastern schism, as after the Reformation, she did not hesitate for a moment still to proclaim herself the only Church of Jesus Christ. The very day of her most terrible defeats she labours to regain the lost ground, drawing new strength from her confidence in her own cause, and persuaded that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her. At the present moment she is stealthily, by her propaganda, drawing the world into her embraces, all the more effectually because of the little noise it makes. Where is the Evangelical denomination that could, for a moment, rock itself in illusions so chimerical? Which of them believes that itself alone is the entire body of Christ, that it only possesses vitality, and that all other denominations are heresies condemned to perish? If each, therefore, ought, with a good conscience, to acknowledge as sister Churches all those who serve Jesus Christ, what have they more to do than to live in harmony with one another?

The second solution is that which the *statu quo* party purpose. Whenever a step in advance is proposed to some persons, their invariable answer is, "Let well alone; do we not go on very well as we are? See," say they, concerning the subject now in hand, "the unity of the Church is a fact, and must manifest itself; allow love to put forth its own strength, and it is sure to make its way." We are well acquainted with this kind of argument, we understand its true meaning; it comes to this, "Let the enemy peacefully sow the tares, and do not trouble him in his work. He acts by instruments who are associated with him in his designs; let God's servants fold the arms, and all will be well." If it has always been Satan's grand effort to divide the people of God, it should be the grand effort of the Church to gather them together. God has been pleased to choose us to carry out His plans. We are workers together with Him. Ah, if there are any Christians at ease, pent up in their narrow denominations, we pity them from the bottom of our hearts. For ourselves, we need more air, and more room; we want to look beyond the walls which separate us from our brethren. We must possess, as our territory, all the kingdom of Jesus Christ,

and see ourselves as one immense army marching together to a certain victory.

If the *statu quo* is both shameful and disastrous, there remains only the third solution—that of uniting on a common ground; in other words, of heartily entering the ranks of the Evangelical Alliance. It, alone, has been able hitherto to solve the problem of unity conjoined with liberty. It, alone, asks no sacrifice of personal convictions. It, alone, proposes a principle sufficiently elevated to be entitled to have the mastery over all others, and to unite them in a Divine conjunction. In a word, it, alone, is perfectly simple in its means, accommodating itself to all exterior forms; enrolling only voluntary members, and preserved, at the same time, from all schisms, which a common action might beget. We do not hesitate to assert that its future is certain. It will eventually succeed in assimilating all the living elements of Evangelical Protestantism. More even than this, the time may come, when the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, and the ancient communions of the East, will cede to it their most enlightened members; who, struck with the new unity, which they little suspected to be among us, will unite themselves, not with this denomination or that, but with the great body of Evangelical Churches. Then, perhaps, a union more profound may be cemented by common suffering, like that of metals melted in the same crucible. These will be the travailing pains of a new-born world, in which the Evangelical Alliance will be no longer necessary.

Gathered together in the eternal sanctuary, we shall have but one voice and one heart in celebrating the infinite love which has redeemed us; for, says the Apostle, "I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands; . . . . they shall hunger no more; neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat, for the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

CHRISTIAN UNION IN THE CEVENNES.*

We feel the need of speaking to you of ourselves, dearly beloved brethren, that you may the better know who we are.

Many Christian Societies of France, and of foreign countries, desiring to further the advancement of the Kingdom of God amongst Christians, had very naturally turned their eyes towards the department of Gard, as being one of the centres of French Protestantism. Delegates were sent to this country by various Churches in different countries; and the Lord accompanied their work with His blessing; they have been, in His hands, the principal instruments of the revival which fills us with joy.

But evil grew with good. Workmen labouring side by side in the same vineyard could not preserve "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." They quarrelled on doctrinal points; they disputed as to the right to souls, and they withdrew from each other. As were the leaders, so were the flocks.

We will not give pain by the recital of our intestine strifes; but we could not allow them to be passed over in entire silence, for we wish to acknowledge the greatness of the blessing which the Lord has granted to us, in bringing us back to feelings of fraternal love and of Christian concord.

Soon after the great Conference of London, in 1846, a desire for union was manifested among us. Christians of the National Church, of Dissenting Churches, of the Wesleyan Society, of

* The document, of which we here give an abstract, arrived too late to be read in the Conference.—Ed.

the Church of the United Brethren, and others, feeling that the Church, inasmuch as it is the body of Christ, is but one, were deeply grieved by this disunion, and deploring it before the Lord, sought means to remedy the evil.

At last, in 1850, the first meeting of the Evangelical Alliance was held at Saint Hyppolite. This meeting was particularly blessed, and left ineffaceable recollections in the hearts of all who attended it.

Other general meetings were held, in succeeding years, at Ganges and at Vigan, which contributed greatly to knit many hearts together, and to make them seek peace and union.

By degrees Evangelical Alliance Committees were organized in different places; Christians of various denominations established monthly meetings for mutual edification. In fact, it was evident that the cause of Union had gained ground. The thought then occurred to us of convening a certain number of brethren from different parts of the country, and from various Churches, to consult on the means best calculated to unite us still more closely, and to concentrate our scattered strength in order to some common work.

It was this latter wish, as well as the narrowness of the basis of the Evangelical Alliance as it then existed in France, which induced us, in the spring of the year 1853, to establish a Christian Union, under the name of "Fraternal Conferences of Cévennes." Brethren of the National Church, of the Churches of the Union, of the Society of Methodists, of the Society of Friends, of the Moravian Church, and of the Independents, were associated in these Conferences, and entered into an engagement to love as brethren, to walk in the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance, and, as much as possible, in harmony with it, and to unite in order to a common work.

In each locality of our district we have monthly Conferences, which send delegates to General Conferences, held every three months; and these last especially have been on more than one occasion abundantly blessed. In several places the Presbyteries of the National Church kindly put their Churches at our disposal in the evening, by which means we were enabled to address the whole Protestant populations of the neighbourhood; and we may hope that our testimony and our appeals have not been without fruit.

With regard to our common work, it has consisted principally

in evangelizing, and in a kind of patronage of works of charity. We have been able to send a pastor to one part of our country to evangelize its population by his sermons from the pulpit; we have also several times sent colporteurs to evangelize from house to house. On the other hand, we have supported a hospital taking charge of orphans in our district, encouraged Sunday-schools, religious libraries, &c.

To the Lord alone belongs the praise for the little we may have done; to us shame and confusion of face, for we have not only failed to return unto the Lord according to His blessings, by redoubling our zeal, devotedness, and brotherly love, but we have also failed to win to our holy cause brethren to whom we should have felt so much pleasure in uniting ourselves.

After these things had taken place the French Branch of the Evangelical Alliance enlarged its basis, and thus opened its door to many brethren whose scruples of conscience had hitherto prevented their joining. At the same time political circumstances made us fear that we should be classed with secret societies. We therefore resolved to give up our separate existence, and to merge into the Evangelical Alliance; only that we determined, at the same time, to continue our common work as long as the Lord should bless it. Shall we long have the happiness to work thus together? We hope so. The Evangelical Alliance, it is true, is not a missionary society; but would it be a Christian one if it wanted the missionary spirit?

We have now told you, beloved brethren, what was the origin of the Christian Association in the Cévennes, and also what we are now.

We need only add a few words on our exterior organization. The local committees represented by "The Committee of the Cévennes" are eight in number—viz., the committees of *Vigan*, with the localities of Avèze, Aulas, Bréau, &c.; of *Ganges*, with Saint Laurent-le-Minier; of *Saint Hippolyte-du-Fort;* of *Cros*, with Colognac; of *Sauve;* of *Vic-le-Fez;* of *Durfort;* and of *Anduze.*

The general committee is composed of five brethren of different denominations, named by the delegates of local committees, and dispersed in various localities. It is this committee which has the pleasure of addressing this letter to you, and of greeting you tenderly in the name of all the united Christians of its district.

Several of our brethren will have the pleasure of being present at your meetings—namely, the Rev. Mr. Gallienne, Wesleyan Minister, and Vice-President of our Committee, whom we have requested to read this letter; the Rev. Bastide, of Avèze; and the Rev. M. Bonifas, of Ganges. We beg you to consider these friends as our representatives; and we sincerely hope the blessings they derive from the meetings will be poured out afresh upon us.

In the name of the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance of the Cévennes,

Menzel, *President.*

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

(*August* 23, *Evening.—Taitbout Chapel.*)

The second meeting of the Conference was devoted to a work new to the Churches of France, and one in which those of England and America take a growing interest—that of the Young Men's Christian Association. Many young men, members of such associations in different countries, and in a manner their delegates, had come to Paris on occasion of the Conference. Before the evening reserved for them in the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, they had held meetings of their own, in which reports on different subjects were read, and interesting questions discussed. But the wish they expressed to bring their proceedings into connexion with those of the Conference was willingly complied with; and all the more readily, indeed, from the sincere satisfaction felt by the different committees of the Evangelical Alliance, both in the earnest desire evinced among the young men of so many countries for self-improvement and Christian usefulness, and in the fact that the associations formed among them for these purposes are, like the Alliance, based upon the fundamental principles of Christianity, to the exclusion of secondary matters.

At this meeting, therefore, they assembled, in conjunction with the members of the Conference, under the presidency of the Rev. Frederic Monod, who was appointed to occupy the chair.

After the usual devotional exercise, Mr. Monod opened the proceedings in a speech particularly addressed to the young men themselves, characterised by a tone of paternal affection, and replete with Christian counsel and encouragement.

When he resumed his seat, a Paper was read by Mr. Maximilian Perrot, of Genèva; entering at great length not only into the history of the rise, progress, and operations

of Young Men's Christian Associations, but into the considerations and arguments by which their necessity and moral value are sustained, and the refutation of some of the principal objections by which either their constitution or their operations have been assailed. It is unnecessary to insert this document here, partly because the meeting itself was rather an incident of the Conference (a happy incident, indeed) than an essential part of it; and in part, also, because the proceedings of the young men will be found in their own publications. We subjoin, however, a few of its salient points; assured that, in doing so, we shall at once impart pleasure, and communicate information to the readers of this volume.

The first Association was formed in London in 1844; three years afterwards a second was instituted in the Rhine provinces; the next year a third arose in Geneva; the following, a fourth in Paris; others rapidly followed in Holland, Belgium, Piedmont, and they are now widely spread not only through Western Europe, but also in the United States.

These Associations are based upon a common acknowledgment of the fundamental truths of the Gospel, to which assent in some form is required in order to membership in them; and the object at which they principally aim is, the intellectual and religious improvement of their members, while for the most part, also, they seek to extend, by direct efforts, the influence of the Gospel beyond them. They hold public lectures, institute classes, open libraries, reading-rooms, and conversation-rooms; and in these ways, and others of a similar kind, they aim to draw young men away from haunts of dissipation, and to provide them with the means of spending the evening hours after the business of the day is done, in a salutary and profitable manner.

Some of these Associations undertake works of a still more aggressive character upon vice and irreligion, and engage in efforts similar to those of home and city missions. In Amsterdam, for example, the members carry the Bible into the lowest parts of the city; in Antwerp, they carry on a work of evangelization among sailors and emigrants; in Turin, they visit the sick and dying; in Edinburgh, they have taken an active part in opposing Popery; in England, they have distributed many thousand copies of the Word of God; and, in America, they support missionaries, and take care of the poor and of young men out of work.

The Report concluded with an earnest appeal to ministers of the Gospel, to private Christians generally, and to mothers and sisters, to lend their influence in promotion of the objects of these Institutions. Young men, it was stated, are the hopes of the future Church, the soldiers who in future conflicts must do battle for the Lord. Multitudes of young men, however, are not brought under Christian influences, but are left altogether to the power and fascination of the world. A strong plea was urged on behalf of those who are thus neglected, and exhortations were given to the use of means, especially of Christian and affectionate entreaty, in order to reclaim them, and induce them to join these Young Men's Associations.

The Assembly was addressed after the reading of the Report by young men from different countries. And it was especially mentioned, that during the meetings a basis of union had been adopted, which it was hoped would be accepted by all the Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the world. It had been unanimously agreed upon by representatives from the Unions of France, Switzerland, Holland, Rhenish Prussia, Silesia, England, and the United States of America, in the following terms: "The Young Men's Christian Unions unite together in the same Association—young men who look to Jesus Christ as their Saviour and their God according to the Scriptures; and who determine to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to labour together to promote the advancement of their Master's kingdom among young men."

Mr. Stuart, of Philadelphia, said that the idea of these Associations had, like many other good things, originated in England, and that America had adopted and given it a larger development. The Society in Philadelphia, which he represented, had 800 members; that of New York, whose representative was also present, counted 2,000; in all there were 10,000 young men in the United States associated together in the cause of the Gospel.

ANGLO-SAXON NATIONS.

I.

ON THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF ENGLAND, 1851—1855.

BY THE REV. T. R. BIRKS, M.A.,

RECTOR OF KELSHALL, HERTS, AND ONE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARIES OF THE BRITISH ORGANIZATION OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

II.

ON THE STATE OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS OF ENGLAND.

BY EDWARD BAINES, ESQ.

III.

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF RELIGION IN AMERICA.

BY THE REV. ROBERT BAIRD, D.D.

ANGLO-SAXON NATIONS.

ON THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF ENGLAND, 1851—1855.

BY THE REV. T. R. BIRKS, M.A.,

RECTOR OF KELSHALL, AND ONE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARIES OF THE BRITISH ORGANIZATION OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

(*August 24, Morning.—Church of Redemption.*)

In complying with the request of the French Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, to prepare a special Report on the religious state of England during the last four years, I feel strongly the difficulty of the task, and while I could scarcely refuse a compliance with their wishes, regret that it has not been committed to more competent hands. The shortness of the period forbids any comprehensive historical review. A collection of mere statistics, on the other hand, would be liable to prove wearisome rather than instructive to the hearers; and I have less access than many others to the documents which such a mode of treatment would require. I shall, therefore, content myself with following the outline sketched in their circular, and offer such remarks and information under each head of inquiry there suggested, as may seem most likely to throw light upon the present duties and prospects of the Church of Christ. May the great Head of that Church himself be present to bless us, and give us understanding of the times, like the men of Issachar, that we may know what the servants of the Lord, in these days, ought to do.

I.—The actual Religious State of England.

The religious state of a country may be viewed either in its outward form, or the inward workings of spiritual life. But as we read the feelings of the soul through the gestures of the body,

and the play of the features, so it is mainly through the outward form of a nation's religious profession that we can discern the state of its inward life, which alone gives to that profession a real value.

The national census of 1851 supplies us here with some valuable information. It is true that the returns on religious worship, being a voluntary addition, and based on the attendance of one single day, and also shielded from any test of their accuracy by a promise of concealment, are probably not so trustworthy as the other returns which were of legal obligation. Serious imputations of great inaccuracy have, indeed, been brought against them by no light authorities, and, in my own opinion, with some partial truth. But, without entering into this controversy, and making allowance for undeniable imperfections, the census will throw considerable light on the religious state of the British people.

First, it appears from this census, that there are in England and Wales, besides the National Church, about twenty-five other bodies of Protestant Christians of native growth, and nine or ten offshoots of foreign Churches, as well as twenty-five other religious names, adopted by a few isolated congregations. They consist of the Independents, three varieties of Scotch Presbyterians, five of Baptists, seven of Wesleyan and two of Calvinistic Methodists, the Society of Friends, Unitarians, and five or six small bodies of recent origin. The strangest, and perhaps latest addition are the Mormonites, who numbered more than sixteen thousand attendants on the evening of the census day.

The total population, within a small fraction, was just eighteen millions. When allowance is made for necessary causes of absence, through childhood, sickness, or age, we may reckon two-thirds of these, or twelve millions, to be the possible attendants on public worship during some part or other of the Lord's-day. The actual attendance, from the returns, was 4,600,000 in the morning, 3,200,000 in the afternoon, and 3,100,000 in the evening, or a total of nearly eleven millions. The double and triple attendance, increased by one million, will thus be equal to the total number of voluntary neglecters of public worship.

The morning, afternoon, and evening attendances, as returned, were as follows :—

Church of England	2,500,000	1,900,000	900,000
Other bodies	2,100,000	1,300,000	2,200,000

From a comparison of the manner in which the services are arranged, we may reach a probable conclusion that five-eighths of those who attend in the afternoon had not attended in the morning, and three-eighths of those who attended in the evening had not been present at morning or afternoon service. Hence it will result that the worshippers in the Church of England on the census day were nearly 4,100,000, in all other bodies 3,800,000, and the neglecters of all worship also about 4,100,000, completing a total of twelve millions.

The proportion of the other bodies, in the number of their worshippers, the Church of England being reckoned at 1,000, will be nearly as follows :—

CHURCH OF ENGLAND . . 1,000

Wesleyans	247	Other Baptists	32
Independents	211	Presbyterians	16
Particular Baptists	127	Several small bodies	20
Roman Catholics	79	Unitarians	10
Primitive Methodists	75	Society of Friends	5
Other Methodists	58		—
Calvinistic Methodists	49	Total	930

The total number of places of worship in the Established Church was 14,077; in other bodies 20,390 ; and the number of sittings open for morning service 4,800,000 and 3,600,000 respectively. Thus it appears that the defect, in point of room, consists rather in the distribution of places of worship than in their absolute number, since the proportion is the smallest in the more crowded and populous districts. In the urban parishes the sittings are provided for less than one-half of the total population, but for exactly two-thirds in the rural parishes. Traced historically, the population since 1801, at each census, has been 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 millions, very nearly, and the estimated church and chapel room 5, 5½, 6, 7, 8, 10 millions. Thus, on the whole, the increase of room has barely kept pace with the rapid growth of the population.

The population of England and Wales, it would result from these returns, is composed of three nearly equal portions—worshippers in the National Church, worshippers of other bodies of Christians, and neglecters of all worship. The second of these appears to be a little less numerous than the two others. In point of nominal profession, the adherents of the Established Church must be rated considerably higher, since there are probably not less than two millions of occasional or irregular

worshippers, the greater part of whom would call themselves Churchmen, and who actually replace less than half their number in the estimated average attendances on public worship. Still it cannot be doubted that a nearly constant attendance on such worship is the simplest test of real, honest membership. Measured by this rule there are rather more than four millions who worship in the Established Churches, an equal number who slight the means of grace, while one rather less is distributed among three leading bodies of Dissenters, and thirty or forty smaller denominations. The Roman Catholics appear, by the test of attendance, to form only four per cent. of the whole population. But the reason which has been alluded to in reference to the members of the Established Church applies here with still greater force, and the actual number of Roman Catholics who have not formally left that communion is probably one half more, or possibly even double, what would result from the return.

When we look below the surface and inquire into the character of these different bodies, one important fact will stand out in full relief. The attendants at church being reckoned at 100, and those at all other places ninety-three; of these only eight are Roman Catholics, and one Unitarian, and one and a half or two will represent all other sects, that would be reckoned palpably unsound by the great body of true Christians. Hence 82 per cent. will represent the orthodox, and 11 per cent. the heterodox or superstitious. Besides the estimated number of 4,100,000 Churchmen, there will be 3,400,000 Dissenters, who substantially agree with each other and the Church of England in all the main doctrines of the faith; while, on the other side, 300,000 will represent the worship under a creed more grossly heterodox or superstitious, and 4,100,000 the probable neglecters of all worship. Thus, on the side of Christianity, in some form or other substantially sound, we shall have just five-eighths, and on the side of false religion, or open irreligion, three-eighths of the population.

The compiler of the census has himself been struck with this important fact. He says—

> It will be seen to what a great extent, amidst ostensible confusion and diversity, essential harmony prevails. Especially is this apparent in our Protestant communities, which comprise nineteen-twentieths of our religious population. The fundamental doctrines of the Reformation, as embodied in the standards of the Church of England, are professed and preached by Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and many minor sects, comprising nineteen-twentieths of the Protestant

Nonconforming community. Nor has this virtual union been, in recent times, unfruitful in manifested concord. Common objects are increasingly pursued by common efforts; not a few of our existing and rising institutions are founded on an ample basis, which permits the members of different Churches to mingle in associated labour. Among the constituencies, in the committees, and on the platforms, of various religious societies, are found, in harmonious action, the ministers and members of perhaps a dozen different sects; while one considerable organization has for its *exclusive* object the promotion of fraternal sentiment and intercourse between the various Evangelical communions. Other indications are not wanting, which, combined with these, may raise the hope that many of the Protestant communities are gradually tending to a closer union and a more combined activity, proceeding from a heartier appreciation of the vital doctrines all alike profess, and a diminished ardour on behalf of those subordinate arrangements with regard to which they feel obliged to differ.

The state of the inward religious life in these various bodies is plainly much harder to determine than the outward attendance on public Christian worship. There have been, so far as I am aware, in the last four years, no striking and palpable changes, no signal revivals of religion, no sensible and marked decay. My impression would be, that within the Church of England, and among the Independents, Baptists, and Methodists, there has been much external activity of labour, some real extension of spiritual influence; but also, except in favoured localities, some experience of the constant tendency in all religious bodies, without new supplies of heavenly grace, to spiritual feebleness and decline. Attention has been fixed more keenly than ever on the amount of spiritual destitution which still remains, and new engines have been employed to reclaim the careless and the ungodly. On the other hand, there has been no such extensive deepening of the tone of true religion among its more earnest disciples as to secure us from the fear that many may have unconsciously been departing from their first love, and worldly influences weakening the hold upon their hearts of the things unseen and eternal.

II.—Modifying Events.

Three main events of this kind may be specified within the course of the last four years.

The first of these is the Papal Bull of September, 1850, more usually called the Papal Aggression. The Parliamentary Session of 1851 was mainly employed with conflicts which arose out of that measure. No event, for many years, stirred so deeply the heart of the British people. It is true that some voices were heard, both in and out of Parliament, to denounce

this excitement as unreasonable and excessive; and many foreign Protestants have probably shared in the same feeling, and viewed it with surprise, or even with disapprobation. But they forget that British Protestantism combines with its religious faith a deep and settled instinct of national independence. The Church of Rome, on our side of the Channel, has for three centuries been viewed, not more as the centre of a false creed and worship, than as the head-quarters of a dangerous political usurpation. A purely spiritual aggression might be, and ought to be, repelled by purely spiritual weapons; but it was felt, by a kind of instinct, that the territorial jurisdiction of the new hierarchy was a direct and mighty stride in the usurpation of prerogatives that belonged inalienably to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. Hence two of the most powerful elements within the heart of the British nation—the love of Bible truth, and the jealousy for national independence—were called together into full activity; and a demonstration was made of hostility to the pretensions of the Vatican, which, although the burst of zeal has died away, has left abiding and valuable results to the present hour. Nearly all the Protestant institutions of the land acquired a new energy. A formal protest against the claims of the new hierarchy—for such was its essential character—was recorded, in spite of all opposition, on the Statute-book of the country. A Parliament was returned at the next election more Protestant than had been known for years, and redoubled efforts were made, not only to check the progress of the Roman Church by argument and discussion, but to recover those who were already numbered among her disciples, both in Ireland and England, to the faith of the Reformation. A sortie was made from the Vatican on the trenches of British Protestants, like a night surprise. The guards woke from a dangerous slumber, and ran to arms. There was unsoldierly clamour at first, but, by degrees, the parties who manned the works felt their way to their comrades. They repelled the attack, and began to push silently a new parallel against the main outworks of the fortress of the enemy.

A second modifying event, early in these four years, was the Great Exhibition, the precedent of those which have followed in Ireland, in America, and here in Paris, the capital of taste to the whole civilised world. That Exhibition inaugurated the second half of the nineteenth century with a noble standard, if

only expounded in the light of the Gospel—sympathy and union among all the tribes and families of mankind. It seemed, by re-uniting the products of human skill and industry from so many lands, to repeat anew the Apostolic lesson, so often obscured by war and mutual jealousy, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on the face of the whole earth."

Its influence on the religious life of England may be summed up in a few words. First, the provinces have been linked more closely with the metropolis, and the pulsations of religious influence have become more rapid throughout the empire. Next, pious Christians have had their intellectual horizon enlarged, and have fixed their thoughts more strongly than before on the humanising and social aspect of Christianity. And, lastly, the sense of national responsibility has been deepened in the hearts of British Christians by the public eminence to which their country was raised. The Great Exhibition rendered palpable to their eyes what had been previously a truth for the meditative only, that Britain, from its commerce, its advanced art, its colonial empire, its geographical position and political eminence, enjoyed unequalled opportunities for upholding truth and righteousness, and spreading the pure Gospel to the extremities of the globe.

A third event, which has also modified the religious history of our country during these four years, is the gold discoveries of California, and still more of Australia, and the fresh impulse which has thus been given to emigration. An immense tide of population has flowed from England, no less than Ireland, towards the Rocky Mountains, or the gold fields of Victoria. A new empire is seen arising at our antipodes, with a suddenness almost preternatural. The religious life of England has been sensibly affected in various ways. The links of union between the mother country and its remotest colonies have been sensibly strengthened and multiplied. A new work of love has presented itself to British Christians, in providing for the spiritual claims of a vast stream of emigration. On the other hand, the compulsory close of criminal transportation has given a new impulse to efforts of Christian love on behalf of the depraved and vicious; just as the shutting up of the outlet of some immense drain would compel the attention of a city to be given to its sewerage; and thus help on the work of sanitary

reform. The result has been that emigrant institutions, and ragged and industrial schools, are almost of simultaneous origin.

III. Influence of the External Situation.

A fourth event, which belongs properly to this distinct head, has begun to modify anew the religious life of the British Churches. I allude to the war with Russia, and its immediate consequences—by which partial good has been brought out of evil—the intimate alliance between France and England. The death of the Duke of Wellington and the revival of the French Empire, occurring so near together, were felt by most Christians in England to be the sign that, after forty years of peace, a new era was about to begin. A few months were enough to reveal, with tolerable clearness, the quarter of the horizon where the clouds were gathering for a storm. The two earlier years of the brief interval now reviewed were marked by the enjoyment or the retrospect of the Industrial Exhibition. It seemed as if peace would display all her triumphs to the assembled nations, before a renewed farewell. The two later years have been spent in the uneasy anticipation, or the actual experience, of European war, with its mingled blood and tears, its heroic virtues, its sorrows, and its crimes.

To trace all the effects of this change on the religious life of England would require a more discerning eye, and an abler pencil, than my own. Yet some of the results are too perceptible to escape the notice of any thoughtful observer. And first, the sympathy of British Christians with France in general, and more especially with the French Protestants, has been greatly increased. National interest, the deep emotions awakened by common sacrifices in a just cause, the instincts of neighbourhood, and the claims of Christianity, all tend to strengthen the desire that this alliance may be solid and lasting. But if this lovely France were bound hand and foot to the dark superstitions of the middle ages, or abandoned to the wild licence of open infidelity, this alliance, though it might still be a political necessity, would involve, in the eyes of British Protestants, a dangerous risk of moral contagion. It is because Roman Catholicism, in France, has usually retained some traces of Gallican liberty; and, the paroxysm of blasphemy having passed away, some reverence for the name of Christ has revived among French philosophers, where there is not full submission to the authority of the Gospel; but still more, because French Pro-

testantism still lifts up a standard for religious faith without servile superstition, and temperate freedom without licentious anarchy; that British Christians can look with hope, instead of fear and suspicion, on that close alliance which, as patriots and philanthropists, affords them a deep and lively joy. In the growth of French Protestantism they would see one of the best pledges for the permanence of that union cemented by heroic blood, besides its higher benefits as a direct advance of the kingdom of Christ.

The Russian war has served also to awaken in the minds of British Christians a growing interest for the religious welfare of the lands of the East. While other parts of the missionary field had been already occupied, Syria, and Asia Minor, and Turkey itself, had been the scene of labours maintained almost exclusively by the American Churches. The mother has now become, for the first time, a handmaid to the daughter; and an auxiliary has been formed in London, to help forward the work in these countries, begun with so much wisdom and success by the American Board of Foreign Missions. Other efforts have also been made to circulate Bibles and provide Scripture readers, which can hardly fail to yield some fruit, in those Eastern countries, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

Another consequence of the Eastern war has been the birth of a deeper tone of thought and feeling in the minds of the British people. The war fever is a dangerous disease, but still more dangerous, perhaps, is that sordid selfishness which, after long years of peace, too often eats like a cancer into the life of a commercial people. England has never been merely a nation of shopkeepers. Still it must be owned that the sordid spirit of trade has entered too largely into the national character, and exercised too often a distorting or degrading influence on the policy of the British Empire. If the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery has held up a beacon light to all nations, the opium traffic in China has been a dark history of sin and shame.

The present war, though it has lasted so short a time, has done much to sweep away the dull selfishness of trade, and to kindle deeper feelings throughout the whole nation,—sympathy with the weak against the strong, admiration for heroic daring and acts of virtuous self-sacrifice, and the consciousness of higher laws than those of mere barter, of a Divine Nemesis ruling among the nations of the earth. However misdirected, in worldly

hearts, to the pursuit of false glory, or the indulgence of pride and revenge, these deeper instincts have not been unprofitable, where the religious life was present to guide and sanctify them. The Church of Christ, in the loyal deeds of our soldiers and sailors, has seen reflected her own proper standard of self-sacrifice, and of contempt of danger, in the cause of her heavenly Master. It is too early to trace all the effects of the new chord which have been struck in the depth of many hearts; but it may be hoped that the result will be, amidst the increased pressure of a state of war, or on the return of peace, redoubled rather than diminished labours for the spread of the Gospel, both at home and in distant heathen lands.

Another consequence of the Eastern war has been an increased attention among British Christians to the word of prophecy. Many writers had, for thirty years and upwards, proclaimed their conviction that great changes were impending over the Church of Christ, and that the moral conflict which had been carried on in Christendom for ages, would shortly assume a new form, and pass over to Palestine and its border lands, where great and marvellous changes would ensue, and usher in an entirely new era of the world's history. The sudden breaking out of the war with Russia, and the new political combinations which have resulted already, and are still in progress, have added fresh strength to these anticipations, and caused them to spread amongst numbers who before had been little interested in the hopes of the Church, or the prospects of the world. In the first excitement, it could hardly fail that much crude and rash speculation should rise to the surface; but the general effect, in sober minds, can hardly be mistaken. There never was a time when the minds of Christians, at least in England, were so generally directed to the sunrise, with the feeling that great and solemn events are near at hand, and that the promises in Romans xi., so long delayed, and so weighty in their lessons to the grafts of the wild olive tree, are soon to be fulfilled.

IV.—Influence of Foreign Religious Ideas.

Germany and America are the only two countries which seem to have exercised much direct influence, during these last years, on the religious history of England. Our country holds a middle position between its Teutonic parent and its Anglo-Saxon daughter, which makes it more susceptible to pulsations of intellectual and spiritual life from these sources than from its

other neighbours; especially since, with many and great diversities, they agree in the common prevalence of Protestant Christianity.

It is hard to decide the extent to which English theology, in these years, has been modified by German speculations. Speaking generally, the German philosophers, and those forms of theology which they produce at home, are exotics in England, and do not find our national character a congenial soil for their extensive propagation. The study of German literature, there can be no doubt, has greatly increased among educated Englishmen within the last twenty years; but it is a difficult question whether more has thus been lost by greater laxity of creed, or gained by a greater breadth of thought, and a more free and living study of the sacred oracles. The more dangerous elements of German speculation seldom thrive when transplanted to an English soil. Perhaps a greater influence has been exercised, indirectly, through the writings of Coleridge and Carlyle—both steeped very strongly with results of German reading—than by the direct study of the Germans themselves. In theology, such writers as Neander, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Havernich, far more than De Wette, Bretschneider, Vatke, Vater, Strauss, or Feuerbach, have exercised some real influence over the minds of British Christians. There are signs, however, of late, that offshoots from the wilder and less reverent schools of German criticism are springing up among ourselves. We may possibly, before long, in what is called the school of broad Churchmen, and a similar class among the Dissenting bodies, witness some serious defection from the traditional reverence of Protestant Christianity for the word of God, to a slippery, ill-defined, undogmatic, sentimental Christianity, a loose creed, that despises the Old Testament, and picks and chooses even in the New, by which numbers would slide down insensibly to an entire apostasy from the faith of Christ.

The influence of America, perhaps, has been less than that of Germany. Yet the dreamy, pretentious Pantheism of Emerson, and the moral, high-toned Theism, or absolute religion, of Parker, both almost equally contemptuous of orthodox Christianity, have found some disciples in our literary circles, and have tended to diffuse a haze of doubt over many ingenious and active minds, among the youthful students of our Universities. The danger, however, from all these foreign influences, so far as they are

sceptical in their character, does not result so much from the prevalence of one form of error, as from a general confusion and unfixedness of belief, which is sure to arise amidst the conflict and clash of a hundred schools of thought and varieties of opinion.

V.—State of Religious Literature and Journals.

This would be hard to compress within a few paragraphs, even with a fuller knowledge of it than I can venture to claim.

For many years, the only quarterly periodicals were the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Reviews*, representing the two rival political parties of Great Britain. After a good many years, the *Westminster* was added, representing a more Radical school of political faith than the organ of the Whig party, the great Northern Review. A great change has occurred in the last ten or fifteen years. There are now five or six Quarterly Reviews, representing the main sections of the Christian Church in our country. The *Edinburgh Review* itself, which began with a cynical contempt for Evangelical Religion, and scoffed at Christian Missions, has latterly recanted, to a great extent, the heresies of its childhood, and done battle against Tractarianism and Scepticism; while it has rendered a just meed of praise to Luther and Melancthon, to Baxter and Howe, to Whitfield, and Thornton, and Wilberforce, names eminent in the past revivals of religious faith. On the other hand, the *Westminster Review*, long the organ of a material philosophy, while it remains no less prominently opposed than ever to the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, has latterly adopted a more refined and spiritual form of disbelief.

The religious Quarterlies, though much later in their origin, having arisen chiefly within fifteen years, have asserted an important place among our periodical literature. The *North British Review*, started by the leaders of the Free Church, was graced by contributions from the pen of the lamented Chalmers, and other Scotch names, eminent for science and for religious feeling. The *British Quarterly*, the organ of the Congregationalists, under the able editorship of the biographer of Wicklyffe, has done more, perhaps, than any other publication to secure for that body a recognised and honourable prominence in the intellectual arena of general literature. The *British Critic*, once an organ of moderate High Church principles, blossomed out some years ago into the most extreme Tractarianism, and then expired about the time when two of its own contributors

went over to the Church of Rome. The *English Review* has since replaced it, an organ of moderate High Church principles, or that division of the Tractarian school which is nearest to the creed of other Protestants, and most distinctly opposed to the Roman Catholic Church. The *Christian Remembrancer* belongs to the same general class. The *Church of England Quarterly*, once of a very mixed and uncertain character, has aimed of late to become an organ of Evangelical Churchmen. The *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* indicates its principles by its title, and besides republishing some of the ablest articles from America, adds original papers of high value. Lastly, the *Dublin Review* has been for many years the recognised organ of the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland.* The Baptists, so far as I am aware, and the Broad Church party in the Establishment, have no quarterly organ.

The monthly religious periodicals are far more numerous, and any list that I could offer would be imperfect. Some of the chief in the Church of England are the *Christian Observer*, the *Christian Guardian*, the *Church of England Magazine*, and the *Churchman's Penny Magazine*, all mainly Evangelical, and the *British Magazine*, and the *Ecclesiologist*, High Church or Tractarian. Among the Dissenters, the *Evangelical Magazine*, the *Eclectic Review*, the *Christian Witness*, the *Wesleyan* and the *Baptist Magazines*, and the *Christian Penny Magazine*. Besides these, there has been of late a most important accession to our religious literature, in several periodicals of a popular kind, devoted to the common cause of sound doctrine and pure morals. Such are the *News of the Churches*, the *Leisure Hour*, and *Sunday Readings at Home*, of the Religious Tract Society, the *Band of Hope Review*, the *British Workman*, and several others of the most useful character. *Evangelical Christendom* is also well known as the organ of the Evangelical Alliance, and is conveying the religious intelligence of the Continent to British Christians in a spirit of real catholicity.

On the whole, the last four years have witnessed a considerable accession of strength to that class of periodical literature which keeps in view the interests of vital godliness, and owns the authority of the Word of God. The attention of Christians has been increasingly drawn to the importance of the press, and the

* To the above list may be added the *London Quarterly Review*, conducted by members of the Wesleyan body.—Ed.

immense influence of periodical writing; and new efforts have been made to counteract the evils arising from the wide circulation of licentious or infidel publications. Much has been done already, but much more remains to be done; and there is no aspect of the times which a thoughtful Christian will regard with deeper interest than this moral conflict which the press, and especially the periodical press, is waging from day to day both for good and for evil; in which those words of our Lord are verified: "He that is not for me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."

In the daily press, no religious body has any organ distinctively its own. The standards under which they range themselves are those of political parties, and even these, at the present hour, are very imperfectly defined. The *Times*, which exceeds all the others collectively in its circulation, has no fixed religious standard. Its views are defined best by a series of negatives. It is opposed to the voluntary principle, silent or unfriendly towards Evangelical religion, sarcastically contemptuous towards extreme Tractarianism, strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism abroad, and hardly less to vigorous and consistent Protestantism at home. The *Morning Herald* and *Standard*, on the Conservative side, and the *Morning Advertiser*, on the Liberal, are strongly Protestant, though with very opposite ecclesiastical predilections. The *Morning Post*, I believe, has of late taken a very Christian tone on several social questions of high importance. The chief religious organs, in the newspaper press, published once or twice a week, are the following: The *Guardian and English Churchman*, Tractarian; the *Church and State Gazette*, High Church; the *Record*, Evangelical; the *Watchman and Wesleyan Journal*, among the Wesleyans; the *Patriot* and the *British Banner*, among the Congregationalists; the *Freeman*, among the Baptists; the *Courier*, an organ of Church Reform; and the *Christian Times*, one of moderate Dissent and Christian union.

Of the religious literature in general it is difficult to give any concise account, from its great variety. I am not aware of any marked feature which distinguishes it, in these last four years, from its previous character. The Assyrian discoveries have given rise to one rather numerous class of publications, illustrating the facts of the Old Testament. The conflict with Romanism, kindled into fresh activity by the Papal Aggression,

and the research into the prophetic hopes of the Church, rendered more active by the Eastern war, have also furnished a large variety of works, many of them ephemeral, but others of a more solid character. But the general effect of the war has been to deaden the literary appetite, except for works directly bearing upon the great conflict of the day—such as histories of Russia, political dissertations, travels in the Principalities, in Turkey, and in Asia Minor, and every kind of information connected with the seat of war. Despatches received by telegraph with the speed of lightning have replaced the folios of other generations; and there may be some danger lest, in the breathless expectancy of some new tidings, all calm and graver thought should grow sickly and expire.

VI.—Mutual Relations of the various Religious Bodies.

This is a very wide subject, and a full treatment of it would alone exceed the limits of this brief report. In the Church of England, three different parties or schools of thought and religious faith may be distinguished. Evangelical Churchmen, who most nearly represent the English Reformers—such as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford—include in their ranks, perhaps, about 6,000 clergy of the United Church, with a large proportion of those laymen who take any active part in religious questions and works of Christian benevolence. High Churchmen—if the term be construed widely—include a still greater number of the clergy. But several classes may be distinguished among them, differing greatly in theological character. There are not a few of them whom we may well believe to be heartily attached to the vital truths of the Gospel, but whom a strong dislike of party names, a strict attachment to Church forms, and a high estimate of their importance, with a disposition to dwell rather on the practical claims of the Gospel than its doctrinal foundations, hinder from being usually reckoned among the Evangelical clergy. A second class, greatly diminished of late years, though still too numerous, are worldly rather than ecclesiastical in their habits of life and tone of thought, though claiming to be stanch friends of the Church of England. The third class consists of High Churchmen, properly so called, who unite high views of church order and a tone of doctrine rather legal than Evangelical, with a strong dislike of Dissent, as schismatic and vulgar, and a dislike, hardly less strong—in some cases even stronger—to the worship and dominance of the Church of Rome.

The fourth class are the Tractarian party, or Anglo-Catholics, who regard the Reformation with almost undisguised aversion, and whose antipathy to all other bodies of Protestants is joined with a strong sympathy for the Church of Rome, and issues often in ardent desires that their own Church may return speedily to her maternal bosom, which she ought never, in their opinion, to have forsaken.

The third party, or school of thought, consists of those who are popularly called Broad Churchmen. It includes all those who, without a decidedly Evangelical creed or tone of thought, seek to embrace a wide circle within the range of their sympathies, and attach little importance comparatively to ecclesiastical forms and distinctions. Some of the leading names thus associated, though in other respects differing not a little, are those of Dr. Arnold and Archdeacon Hare among those lately deceased, and those of Archbishop Whateley, Bishop Hampden, Bishop Thirlwall, Professor Maurice, Mr. Kingsley, Mr. Stanley, and Professor Powell, among living writers of some celebrity. Among the clergy, this party, though very diverse in the particular opinions held by those who compose it, is much less numerous than either of the two others; but it includes several names of literary eminence, and represents a school of thought much more prevalent among our men of literature than among the clergy themselves.

During the last four years there has been no striking change, I conceive, in the relative strength of these parties. The Evangelical clergy have experienced a silent and gradual increase. Extreme Tractarianism, in consequence of the Papal Aggression, has received a decided check. A few open secessions have taken place to the Church of Rome, but the larger portion have been repelled into a position less ostentatiously friendly to the Roman Church, and yet involving serious danger to the cause of Protestant truth within the Establishment, because it admits of their closer alliance with the old High Church party. That party itself has grown relatively feebler in numbers, but less worldly, more earnest and laborious than in former years; ripening, in some cases, into a reverent form of spiritual religion, in others verging decidedly towards a revived form of mediæval superstition. Till of late, many of the young clergy have left the Universities imbued more or less with this Anglo-Catholic theology. Latterly, Broad Church principles have probably

assumed the ascendancy, and many young men have entered the Church, admirers of the philanthropy of Maurice and Kingsley, and the vague aspirations of Tennyson's poems; but with a very loose and unfixed theology, and a greatly relaxed faith in the inspiration and Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures.

Of any internal changes, during the last four years, among the Independents and Baptists—if such have occurred—I have a very slight knowledge. My impression would be that the greater part remain substantially firm and sound in their allegiance to the authority of the Word of God and the main outlines of Orthodox Christianity; but that a smaller number, especially among the younger ministers, have felt the leaven of German theology, and have a much closer sympathy with the Broad Churchmen than with the Puritan fathers of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Among the Wesleyans, so far as I am aware, there have been no doctrinal innovations; but a most serious and extensive schism, bearing upon points of ministerial discipline and authority, has disturbed the peace of their communion and checked its growth. Besides giving birth to a new secession, it has transferred many to the ranks of the Evangelical Churchmen, on the one side, and to those of Congregational Dissent, on the other. The Society of Friends, I imagine, have rather diminished than increased, and exercise from the smallness of their numbers a very slight religious, though their union on some great questions occasionally secures for them an important social, influence. The Unitarians, as a distinct body, have also faded into numerical insignificance, the attendances in their chapels being only one in two hundred of the total amount on the census day. But it is probable that their opinions, or others still more removed from Orthodox Christianity, find acceptance with a large class of educated neglecters, or lax observers, of public worship; and that their strength in a comparison of intellectual force is far higher than would result from a mere comparison of the numbers who attend weekly on the services of Unitarian teachers.

In the relations of these bodies to each other, the last four years, I conceive, have witnessed a slow and gradual, but still an important change. The agitation which grew out of the Papal Aggression has led to a great intimacy between the Orthodox Dissenters and the more sound and healthy parts of the Church

of England. Direct aggression on the Church of England by conscientious Dissenters has been less frequent and less active. The Evangelical clergy, and still more the laity, have been increasingly willing, on their side, to co-operate with pious Nonconformists, not only in resisting the Church of Rome, but in other works of directly religious activity. Even many High Churchmen have reverted to the views of Sancroft in the time of the Revolution, and feel that Orthodox Dissent is at least a smaller evil, and involves a less pressing danger, than that to which their Christian faith and national liberties are exposed on the other side. The basis of union furnished by the Evangelical Alliance has been more widely embraced. The Protestant Alliance, formed on very similar principles, but with a more specific aim to arrest the progress of the Roman Church, has gained a still wider circle of zealous adherents. So that—although there are still, on both sides, earnest and conscientious men who think it compromises their Church principles to have any union with schismatics, or their Voluntary principles, to form any league with the abettors of a corrupt State religion—the main body, both of pious Churchmen and pious Dissenters, are perhaps drawn closer in their sympathies, and ready to exercise a larger forbearance, where they differ, than at any previous time in the course of the last forty years.

There are several outward symptoms of this growing approximation of feeling and judgment. On the one hand, a vigorous effect is being made to free the lay members of the Established Church from those trammels which have grown out of a superstitious regard for the clerical office, and an excessive attachment to uniformity. On the other, several Dissenters, of high standing, have expressed their desire to combine a liturgical element with their own worship; and one or two modified liturgies have, I believe, been published with this object in view. Churchmen have both recognised and exemplified, on the largest scale, their sense of the duty of voluntary efforts in the cause of Church extension, and in home and foreign missionary labours; while Dissenters, in the two great questions of Sabbath observance and the education of the people, have felt very generally how near the State, when it fulfils its duty, must approach to the appearance, if not the reality, of a directly religious legislation. The force of circumstances is compelling the candid, on all sides, to re-examine their opinions, to beware of exaggerating a truth

by polemic zeal till it becomes a falsehood, to suspect themselves of remaining prejudice, and to look with a forbearing eye on the prejudice which they can detect in others ; and, without adopting the superficial view, that all our controversies in doctrine and discipline are mere logomachies, to suspect that looseness of thought, the abuse of words, and the parallax of individual position, has often exaggerated them beyond their real limits and essential importance, and turned, in some cases, a safe and reasonable diversity of spiritual instinct in questions not very clearly revealed, into the hostile standards of an internecine and destructive religious war.

VII. —Progress and Decline of the Spiritual Life.

This is a subject on which it is hard and almost presumptuous to offer any decided judgment. There have been, during these years, no signal revivals of Christian faith and practice; though in the sister Island the work of missions has been attended with a steady progress of conversions from ignorance and superstition to the faith of the Gospel, and has yielded many striking examples of the deep and living energy of the truth of God in the hearts of His people. There is some reason to fear that the immense number of outward works in which Christians are engaged, the unusual pressure of worldly business in a commercial state, and the excitement of great and stirring political events, may have exercised a deadening influence on the inner life of true godliness. On the other hand, faith grows when it works by love, and withers when shut up in total indolence, or spent in dreams of inactive speculation; and the events which have occupied the public mind have been such as to turn the thoughts of Christians, instinctively, to the birthplace of their faith, and the nursery of Apostolic zeal and labours in the early days. On the whole, I should be disposed to hope that, while the number of true disciples has increased, their faith, zeal, and devotedness have not sensibly declined. Many such cases, it is to be feared, there are; but it may be hoped that they are compensated by others, in which devotedness to Christ has increased, and borne fruit still more abundant. The tone of the public religious meetings has rather deepened, perhaps, than diminished, in seriousness and solidity. But it is far less important to make an exact comparison with our state five or ten years ago, than to remember the sinful defect which cleaves still to every believer, and to every work of love which the Church is

carrying on, and to humble ourselves at the footstool of the Divine mercy; that He, who resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble, may give His people more grace for the duties of these solemn and eventful times.

VIII.—Aberration of Religious Thought.

The most notorious and striking of these is the growth of Mormonism, which numbered, on the census day, more than 35,000 attendances, or 21,000 worshippers, in 222 different places of worship. Since its origin, however, is American and not English, it does not seem to fall within the limits of a report on England to dwell upon its startling features. The chief causes of its English growth, besides religious ignorance in general, appear to be the strong instinct for emigration in a considerable class of the middle and lower orders, and the recoil from disputes upon abstract doctrines, into a creed of a more sensible, external kind, flavoured highly with the element of romance, and appealing to those portions of the word of God, the Old Testament prophecies, which had dropped into the greatest neglect in the popular creed of ordinary Christians. Truths, unwisely and sinfully neglected, are the nucleus around which new and portentous falsehoods are apt to gather, and sometimes grow with surprising rapidity.

A more wide-spread and serious evil is that vague and dreamy style of mere religiousness, without any firm hold upon the truth of the Gospel, or the supernatural claims of Christianity, which is becoming popular with a very large class of literary and studious men. There is, in many cases, a strong recoil from the party-coloured robe of sects, names, churches, schools, and denominations, under which the features of Christianity have been obscured and disguised, without any grasp of those great truths of creation, the fall, sin, atonement, pardon, holiness, resurrection, and judgment, which form its vital power and inward glory. Hence multitudes are reaching dimly after some religion, more sentimental, more poetical, more free from the chains of logical accuracy, more independent of historical fact, more seemingly comprehensive in its benevolence—the benevolence, at least, of flattering promises—than the worn-out Christianity of the Churches can supply. The craving is deep, but the forms it assumes are almost grotesque in their diversity. We have the rationalism of sentimental poetry, which calls upon our church bells to ring out the Christianity of our sects and parties, and

"ring in the Christ that is to be." We have the rationalism of science, which discards, contemptuously, the inspiration of the Word of God, from its supposed contrariety to the facts of geology and the discoveries of modern inductive research. We have the rationalism of criticism and philology, which breaks down the carved work of the inspired Scriptures with axes and hammers, that it may construct some new building, consecrated to the pride of modern learning on its ruins. We have the rationalism of metaphysics, which would substitute the intuitions and emotions of the sinner's heart, for the testimony which the God of truth and holiness has given, and confirmed by signs and wonders, respecting the Son of His love, the Redeemer of mankind. We have the rationalism of philanthropy, which resolves Christianity into a simple message of universal brotherhood, and in its zeal for man, but not according to knowledge, ventures to contradict and set aside the more humbling and solemn messages of the Word of God, as too stern and severe for its more enlightened benevolence. We have, finally, the rationalism of simple worldliness, which thinks that certainty is attainable in the things of this life, but beyond our reach in all questions of religious faith; and hence, while it conforms passively to the religious usages and opinions that prevail in its own circle, bends all its strength and energy to the pursuits of time and sense, and regards it as a wild enthusiasm to live for eternity. These are some of the chief aberrations to which religious thought in England seems now to be exposed. They demand the earnest care of all who can discover or administer healing medicines, before the subtle disease of unbelief has spread widely, from unconscious sources, through the visible Church of Christ.

IX.—The New Wants of the Churches.

Whatever may be the change of passing circumstances, the old wants are the most vital and important—more faith, more hope, more love, more brotherly union, more longing desire for the glory of the Lord in the conversion of sinners, more promptness to improve opportunities, more prayer and intercession. The new openings of Providence serve only, like a kaleidescope, to exhibit these old wants in new forms, and in fresh and varied combinations. The prayer of the Prophet, thousands of years ago, is still seasonable as ever—"O Lord, revive Thy work in the midst of the years."

Of the wants which strike the eye, in looking over the visi-

ble Church, especially in Great Britain, the most prominent is that of closer and heartier union among true Christians. The foundations of it are laid already in their common faith, and their common experience of the grace of Christ. The motives to it are weighty and urgent, in the aspect of infidelity, and the vastness of the field of missionary labour, which calls for and surpasses all their united efforts. Helps to it already exist in several societies, which bring believers of various names together, and especially in that Alliance which has this one object directly in view. But the Canaanites of ecclesiastical pride and schismatical self-will are still strong, and there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed, before all the tribes of the spiritual Israel shall sit side by side, in rest and peace and mutual harmony. In the prosecution of this work, too much reliance, I think, ought not to be placed on the excitement of large public meetings. A more quiet, healthy, and abiding result would follow from multiplying social intercourse, in the spirit of prayer, among little knots of Christians who live near together, and by redeeming time from the luxurious tendencies of private life in Christian families, for a simpler, more genuine, and more profitable exercise of Christian hospitality. It is rather by private intercourse than public meetings, that party prejudices and secret alienation are removed, and that the glow of one common faith and love throws back into the shade the differences of judgment on questions of Church order and outward discipline. Few inquiries could practically be more important than this: How can the private intercourse of Christians, in the family circle, and small social assemblies, be made most conducive to mutual edification, and the growth of brotherly love?

Another want of the Church in these days, and probably not peculiar to England, is a full and intelligent discussion of the relation between modern science and true Christianity. There are a large class who either have a strong conviction, or a painful and uneasy suspicion, that their claims are opposed, or at least that they can only be reconciled by casting aside the inspiration of the Bible, and admitting it to contain a large infusion of mere Jewish prejudice. There are others, again, who would cut the knot by shutting their eyes resolutely to all the results of modern discovery, and plead the authority of the Bible for scientific opinions, which nearly all men of real scientific eminence reject as untenable and untrue. Where shall the line

be drawn, or how shall these rival claims be reconciled and restored to harmony? This is a subject which must increasingly occupy the minds of thoughtful men, who would not see the ark of the faith dishonoured by rash defenders with presumptuous hands, or resigned to be the prey of open enemies. It is a great want, and hitherto has been very partially and imperfectly supplied.

Another want is that of a wide and large social philosophy, based on the principles of the Gospel and the whole range of the Divine messages, and therefore equally distinct from the servility of despotic theories, from the anarchy of an ungodly and self-willed socialism, and the barrenness of mere theological abstractions. We want Christianity, like its Divine Author, to produce its credentials once more, by healing all the social diseases of humanity; or, at least, by making it plain that it has in its treasury a medicine for every ill, if only there were a willingness to take the medicine and apply it. Such a philosophy would require us to examine with reverence all the laws which God ordained for the Jewish people, to distinguish what was merely typical from what was moral, and the modification or reversal they might require from the later messages of the Gospel; how far they were thus a model for legislators, of what they ought to enjoin, and how far a lesson to the people of the maxims they should freely adopt in their social institutions. This is a want which grows more and more urgent, and has never yet been supplied.

Another want is that of a more effective and earnest use of the press, to counteract infidelity and worldliness, and diffuse the leaven of Bible Christianity. Much has already been done, it is true, but there is a loud call in this direction for increased activity of Christian zeal and wisdom. Both for good and evil, the influence of the press is enormous. It may almost be said to wield the sceptre of the world. How important, then, for all who are able to imprint on it a right direction, or check its unwholesome issues, to do all in their power to secure this double object! The young, in these days, will be sure to read; and it is only by a large and liberal supply of sound literature that Christian parents will be able to shield their children from fearful temptation, through the influx of works of an opposite kind. To multiply Christian works on general subjects, where the Christianity shall not be a patch upon the surface, a moral

unskilfully and violently forced in, but a pervading influence of light, truth, holiness, and love, is an object, in these days, of unspeakable importance to the growth of true religion.

The last want I would briefly notice, is that of more earnest and united efforts to bring the working classes under the influence of the Gospel. An encouraging commencement has been made in our Ragged Schools for the lowest class, in the Working Men's Educational Institute for another and higher grade, and in open-air preaching for all, besides a very encouraging experiment in Birmingham to organise pious working men into helpers in the work of the ministry. But the vast iceberg has only just begun to melt away on its edges, and we need a mighty glow of Christian faith and love to shine upon it, before the mass can be sensibly diminished, or the Gospel, in our days, repair the neglect of the Church in former years, and achieve one of its most glorious triumphs over the ignorance, prejudice, and alienation of working men.

X.—The Perspective of the Future.

The views of British Christians on the events now in prospect vary more widely than their convictions with regard to present duty. The prevailing impression among the Dissenting bodies is, that a spiritual millennium will be gradually brought about by the missionary labours of the Church, and the blessing of the Spirit on means already in operation; and their view is still shared by a large number of Evangelical Churchmen. On the other hand, the conviction has spread very widely among the pious clergy and laity of England and Ireland, and, to some extent, in the Established and Free Churches of Scotland, that the present dispensation is hastening to its close; that the second coming of the Lord Jesus is the great and constant hope of the Church, and the only millennium to be looked for is after His return. This doctrine, often called Premillenarianism, has prevailed increasingly during the last quarter of a century, and the outbreak of war, after the forty years' peace, in the lands of the Crescent, has given it a new impulse, and fixed the attention more strongly than ever on the Old Testament prophecies. So far as I am able to judge, this view is now entertained by a majority of the Evangelical clergy of England and Ireland, and a large number of the laymen who are most prominent in works of Christian benevolence, and certainly by a large majority of recent writers on the prospects of the Church and

the world. Among those who entertain this view, there is a further contrast of considerable importance. While one class believe a large portion of the New Testament prophecies to be already fulfilled, and to apply to the declension and *apostasy* of the middle ages, and the revival of truth at the Reformation, others hold that almost the whole of them refer to some infidel apostasy, not yet completed, but already near at hand. On all sides the subject has awakened a deep interest. The peculiar features of the times in which we live have impressed even careless minds with the conviction of some great change or other impending over the world. Amidst the actual variety of judgment, one truth seems almost universally allowed, that it is the duty of the Christian to stand upon his tower and watch, to discern the signs of the times, and to gird his loins anew in his Master's service, that he may be prepared for every change, and stand accepted at the last in the presence of his King and Saviour. He must increase, whatever earthly powers may wax or wane. He must reign, and subdue every enemy of His righteous sceptre, and of His kingdom there shall be no end. May we catch the distant sound of His chariot wheels, and be found working faithfully in His vineyard, that, whether the delay be short or long, our hearts may respond fervently to the parting voice of the Spirit and the Bride. Even so, come quickly, Lord Jesus!

[After the foregoing paper had been read, the English brethren were individually presented to the assembly, a list of their names and titles being read by the Rev. J. P. Dobson, Official Secretary of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance. There were seventy-three present, but the number was afterwards increased to one hundred and twenty-two. The Rev. G. Fisch, speaking in English, gave them, in the name of their French brethren, a cordial welcome.]

ON THE STATE OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS OF ENGLAND.

BY EDWARD BAINES, ESQ.,

LEEDS.

Called upon unexpectedly to make a statement on this subject, my remarks must be proportioned rather to the shortness of your time, and the numerous just claims upon it, than to the importance of the subject itself.

The population of the manufacturing districts of England, engaged in the manufacture of cotton, wool, linen, and silk, has increased within the last eighty years with a rapidity perhaps unequalled in the Old World. And as a consequence of the splendid series of inventions and discoveries which changed the old modes of manufacturing, and gave a prodigious impulse to the commercial prosperity of England, towns and villages sprung up on the coal-fields and along the water-courses, which afforded facilities for manufactures; and in many cases, whilst the creation of wealth was, at least, as rapid as the growth of population, there was the utmost irregularity in the building of houses, the construction of streets, the sanitary regulations, and the forms of police and local government, and not less in the provision made for the religious instruction and education of the inhabitants. These were the advantages and the disadvantages attendant upon the highest degree of practical freedom.

As the towns grew in opulence and importance, the people provided for their own wants with the smallest possible intervention of the general government. It would be out of place to discuss here the just limits of such intervention. We have at present merely to do with the facts of the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the communities so rapidly called into existence.

The fact is beyond dispute, that the people have provided for themselves the means of religious and general instruction, some-

times deficient in amount, and inferior in quality, but often also abundant in amount, and of a kind better adapted to the wants and tastes of the parties interested than could have been made by superior authority.

Of the manufacturing population it may be said in general, that their intelligence is superior to their education—that they manifest greater activity both for good and for evil than the population of small towns and of the country—that they are strongly attached to civil and religious liberty—that the forms of religion most prevalent among them are not the Established Church (though most of the upper classes belong to its communion), but Nonconformist churches of decidedly Evangelical creeds, and of active and fervent spirit—that institutions of a religious, educational, and charitable kind find there the most liberal support—yet that there is also a large number of the working classes who habitually neglect religious worship, although in their childhood and youth they received religious instruction in the Sunday-school.

The means of religious instruction consist chiefly in places of worship and Sunday-schools. The former have almost entirely, and the latter have entirely, been provided by the people themselves.

In regard to the supply of churches and chapels, it may be said, that it would be insufficient for a population who were generally disposed to attend them—that it is sufficient, and in many cases superabundant, for those who are so disposed—yet that the multiplication of the means of instruction seldom fails to produce some effect upon those who previously appeared indifferent. Within the last fifty years, the provision of churches and chapels in the manufacturing districts has increased much beyond the increase of the population; and from this and other facts I confidently infer that the religious condition of the population is much better now than it was at the beginning of the century. There is now spiritual life where, at the close of the last century, there was only spiritual death; there is power and activity, in place of formality; there is a large support of religious institutions for the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad, where before such institutions were wholly unknown. Nowhere do the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the various Missionary Societies, or societies for the religious visitation of the poor in their own dwellings, obtain more liberal support.

Sunday-schools are especially numerous in the manufacturing districts. Nearly every congregation has a Sunday-school of its own, taught gratuitously by the most pious members of the body. The date of this institution was the year 1782; it has never, in any form, received aid from public funds, or even recognition from public authority; yet it has gradually and rapidly extended, until, at the census of 1851, the number of Sunday-schools in England was 23,498, and of scholars, 2,407,409, being a proportion of one to every seven and a half of the population. But in the manufacturing districts the proportion of Sunday-scholars to the population is about one to every five; and, as the schools are not attended by the children of the richer classes, but chiefly by those of the operative classes, it appears that nearly the whole of the latter must be embraced in them. The instruction given in the Sunday-schools is entirely religious, and the Bible is the only school-book. There has been a great improvement of late years in the management of the schools; but it must be admitted that much yet remains to be done to render the instruction as efficient as is to be desired. As a teacher for many years myself, I can attest that the influence of the schools upon the teachers is as important as upon the scholars.

In regard to day-schools, by very far the greater part of all that has been done has been by the people themselves, from a growing sense of the value of education. At the beginning of the nineteenth century very few of the operative classes were educated; at present, very few are wholly uneducated, but the period during which many remain at school is so short, that they afterwards forget what they have learned. According to the Census of 1851, the number of day-schools in England and Wales was 46,114, and of the scholars in them 2,144,377; being a proportion to the whole population of one in every eight and a half. This is not satisfactory, yet it shows immense progress, as the proportion of day-scholars to the population was, in 1818, only one in seventeen and a quarter, and, in 1833, it was one in eleven and a quarter. In the manufacturing districts the proportion of day-scholars is smaller than in the older trading towns and the rural districts; the chief causes being that, in the seats of manufactures, the working classes are considerably more numerous in proportion to the richer classes than in other parts of the country, and that the children of

those classes are withdrawn at too early an age from school to be put to labour. It will be observed that in the districts of which I am speaking the Sunday-scholars are proportionably more numerous, and the day-scholars proportionably less numerous, than in other parts of the country; both of which facts indicate the existence of a large working-class population. It is from that class that the Sunday-scholars are chiefly supplied; and it is in that class also that the term of day-school education is necessarily the shortest.

It is believed that the quality of day-school education has improved, within the last thirty or forty years, as much as its amount has extended. Great educational societies have been formed, for the twofold purpose of establishing schools and training teachers. The largest of these is the National Society, in connexion with the Established Church, which has long had its training schools for teachers, and which has about a million of scholars in its schools. The next in importance is the British and Foreign School Society, which is supported both by Churchmen and Dissenters. The Congregationalists, the Wesleyans, the Roman Catholics, the Society of Friends, and other bodies, have also their schools and their training institutions. The manufacturing districts have shared in the advantages of these societies as largely as any other part of the country. All the societies have had for their object to impart an education imbued with religion; and thus we have enjoyed the vast advantage of giving freely, and without any restriction or prohibition on the part of the Civil Government, a decidedly religious education to the mass of the people, which could scarcely be given (in a country containing so many religious sects) in general schools under Government management. There are disadvantages in schools of a denominational character; and, as is well known, the questions as to the propriety, and as to the extent and character, of Government interference in education, have occasioned much discussion of late years. It would be very wrong to enter into controverted questions here. But perhaps it is my duty frankly to say, in the midst of so many Christians from countries where the education is wholly Governmental, that I myself object to the Goverment superintendence of education, as I do to the Government superintendence of religion; and that the strongest, though by no means the only ground on which I do object, is, that I believe that religion suffers when placed under the care of the civil magistrate, and

that under such care religious education could neither be full nor free. But I wholly refrain from entering into argument on the question. I add the fact, that the Parliamentary grants to schools are yearly increasing, and that this year they have amounted to £380,000.

Before closing these remarks, it deserves to be noticed that a humble yet very useful class of institutions has spontaneously risen up in England within the last thirty years, intended to give intellectual advantages to the middle and working classes. They are in general called Mechanics' Institutes, though many of them do not contain any considerable number of mechanics. I well remember the formation of the first Mechanics' Institute in Yorkshire, in the year 1825, a few months after the formation of the London Institution. We have now in that county not less than one hundred and thirty institutions of that kind, which, for the last nineteen years, have been associated together in a union called the "Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes;" and the aggregate number of members in the Institutions is upwards of 20,000, and the number of volumes in their libraries 100,000. The number of these Institutions in the rest of England is not quite so great in proportion to the population as in Yorkshire. These Institutions are not of a religious character; but there are also Young Men's Christian Associations in many of the large towns. The whole of these Mechanics' and Christian Associations are supported and conducted by the members themselves.

In concluding these hasty and imperfect remarks, may I be permitted to express the warm gratification I feel in attending this Conference of Evangelical Christians in Paris, with my hope and belief that it will contribute to the extension of Evangelical principles, to the encouragement of those Christians who, in their own lands, endure great disadvantages, and to the cultivation of brotherly love and piety among the followers of the Redeemer.

[At the conclusion of this meeting, Sir Culling E. Eardley invited as many as were disposed to accompany him in the evening to the Louvre, to see the window from which Charles IX. fired on the Protestants, exactly three centuries ago that day. Those who went arranged themselves in a circle before the window, and one of the company offered up a prayer for the Emperor, and for France, supplicating God to bestow upon it the great blessing of religious liberty.]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF RELIGION.

BY ROBERT BAIRD, D.D.

(August 25, Morning.—Tuitbout Chapel.)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

GENTLEMEN: I have thought that it may not be amiss, in submitting a Report which is designed to represent the State and Prospects of Religion, and especially of the Protestant Church, in the United States of North America, to make a few general remarks, to serve as an introduction to what is to follow. And this I deem to be not only desirable, but even necessary, in order to set forth the vast work which the Church of Christ has had, and still has, to do in a country whose material resources are so rapidly developing, and where she is left to her own efforts.

I.—THE POSITION AND EXTENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The United States constitute a broad zone of North America, stretching across that continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and extending from the Gulf of Mexico, on the south, up to the great lakes which separate that country from British America, on the north. The 49th degree of north latitude forms the western half of the northern boundary, whilst the eastern part of that boundary lies in the greatest part of its extent to the southward of that degree. On the south, the peninsula of Florida projects almost down to lat. 24 deg., and the south-western part of Texas nearly as far; 31 deg. 20 min. forms a considerable part of the southern boundary. Taking away the projections just referred to, the shape of the United States is almost a complete trapezium; and if we were to say that the zone of 18 deg. of latitude, between 31 deg. and 49 deg., from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is equal to it in extent, and almost coincident with it, we should not be far from the exact truth.

The area of the United States is now but little less than three

millions of English square miles,* which is more than one third part of North America, and is more than threefold greater than it was at the epoch of Independence—the accessions having been, Louisiana (899,579 square miles), in 1803; Florida (66,900 square miles), in 1819; Oregan (308,052 square miles), in 1846; Texas (318,000 square miles), in the same year; California, New Mexico, etc. (522,955 square miles), in 1848 and 1854.

II.—NATURE AND RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY.

No continental country in the world, of equal extent, can compare with the United States in regard to advantages for commerce. On the north, the great lakes, and their outlet, the St. Lawrence, drain portions of ten States and Territories, which include 112,649 square miles; on the east, fifteen States touch the Atlantic, and the portion of the country which slopes in that direction contains 514,416 square miles; the Pacific slope contains 766,000 square miles, and has already one State and two organised Territories; whilst the four States and a-half which border on the Gulf of Mexico contain 325,537 square miles. This leaves to the Great Central Basin, drained by the Mississippi and its branches, no less than 1,217,562 square miles, in which are already to be found many of the largest and most rapidly increasing States and Territories, and at least 10,000,000 inhabitants.

It has been calculated at the office of the United States Coast Survey, that the total main shore line of the United States (exclusive of bays, sounds, islands, etc.) is 12,609 statute (English) miles. If all these be allowed, and the rivers ascended to the head of tide-water, the total shore line will be increased to 33,069 miles.

It has also been calculated that the extent of navigable rivers is more than 40,000 miles.

Of the resources of the country it is scarcely necessary to say a word. Its products, which are those of the temperate zones, and some that are inter-tropical, whether in the form of grains, of fruits, or of vegetables; its boundless forests and prairies; its inexhaustible mines of coal, of iron, of gold, and other minerals,

* The exact extent of the United States, since the last acquisition (that of Mesilla Valley) from the Republic of Mexico, is 2,963,663 English square miles.

combine, with a climate that is almost everywhere salubrious,* to fit it for the abode of many millions of the human race; and for such a use it was, as it were, kept for long ages in reserve, till the arrival of that period when, in the wonderful plans of the Almighty, it was to be brought into acquisition.

III.—ITS COLONISATION.

The same Sovereign Ruler of the nations who caused this vast country to be kept in a state of nature, if we may so speak, during ages upon ages, in order that its resources might be amply augmented—amid whose vast forests roamed only innumerable wild beasts and a few tribes of savages of Mongolian origin, that came from the north-eastern parts of Asia—was for ages preparing the nations of Western Europe to take possession of it, and diffuse there the blessings of civilisation and Christianity. The Revival of Letters, and the Invention of the Art of Printing, prepared the way for the Reformation And when America had been discovered, and the commercial spirit of Western Europe had begun to be effectually aroused, then it was that the work of colonisation commenced, on a scale to which the world had previously seen nothing comparable. In the arrangements of Divine Providence, the Atlantic coast of what is now the United States, with the exception of the peninsula of Florida, was to be colonised by a Protestant people. And yet, how near it was to coming into the possession of a Roman Catholic nation! Had Columbus given as much attention to the exploration of the northern coast of Cuba as he gave to that of the southern, he could scarcely have failed to discover the continent of North America, owing to the nearness of the southern end of Florida to that island. Had he reached the coast of Florida, it is quite likely that he would have been led to explore the Southern Atlantic, if not the entire coast of what is now the United States, and thus would have secured to Spain, and to Rome, the control of a most important portion of the country, if not the whole of it. Still

* The census of 1850 shows that, although there is a great variety in the salubrity of the United States, estimated by the number of deaths, yet, taken as a whole, it is quite equal to the most favoured countries of the world. The number of persons whose age was a hundred years or more, was 2,555. A coloured female in the parish of Lafayette, in Louisiana, was returned as 130 years old. North Carolina stands high as regards the longevity of its inhabitants; an Indian female residing in that State was reported as having reached the age of 140 years.

further, in the year 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon, one of the Spanish discoverers, and a companion of Columbus, reached the coast of Florida, in lat. 30 deg. 8 min. Had he turned his prow to the north he would probably have explored the coasts of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, and might justly have claimed that country for Spain. But he sailed southward and explored the entire coast of Florida, and hence Spain and Rome gained the coast to the south of lat. 30 deg. and 8 min., and no more. But God had determined that the honour of discovering North America should belong to England. In her service John Cabot, and his son Sebastian, discovered the coast of Labrador, in the year 1497; and the latter, in the year following, sailed along the coast from lat. 58 deg. down to the southern boundary of Maryland, if not to the vicinity of Albemarle Sound. It was this fact which led her successfully to claim the entire Atlantic coast of the United States, with the exception of Florida, which Spain claimed not only on the ground of discovery, but also of actual colonisation; a work on which she entered long before England took possession, in this sense, of the coast which her navigators had discovered. In less than fifty years after the Atlantic coast of the United States had been discovered by Sebastian Cabot, England became Protestant; but another half-century passed away before she took effective possession of the country to which discovery was understood to give her a claim.

At length England, in 1607, planted her first permanent colony in Virginia, after which followed, in the South, those of Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In 1620, another English colony, of a very different character, was established at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, and eight and ten years later, the colonies of Salem and Boston, all on the same bay. Those of Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine, followed, all having the same character, and established under nearly similar circumstances. As Virginia became the dominant, and, in some sense, mother colony in the South, so did Massachusetts in the North: both were of purely English origin.

About the same time (in the early part of the seventeenth century), Holland planted a Dutch colony at the mouth and along the banks of the Hudson; and at a later day, Sweden sent some of her fair-haired children to colonise the banks of the Delaware, within the present limits of the States of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—States that occupy the intermediate part of

the Atlantic coast, that fell into the possession of England not long after, and to which she granted charters that caused them soon to become English in language, laws, and institutions.

Spain planted colonies at an early period in Florida; but they never had much prosperity, and but few traces of them remain at this day. And in the early part of the eighteenth century, France claiming by right of discovery, or rather of exploration, the entire of the immense Central Valley or Basin, which lies between the Alleghany Mountains on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west, and stretching from the Gulf of Mexico, on the south, to the great lakes on the north, planted a colony on the banks of the Mississippi, and military posts at various points throughout that immense and important country. As she claimed and had already taken possession of the valley of the St. Lawrence, she thus possessed the great Central Valley, which extends from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. But this vast region was one day to be yielded to England, and a large portion of it to the United States.

Such was the primary colonisation of the United States. It will be perceived that it was emphatically Anglo-Saxon in the northern and southern (with the exception of Florida) portions of the Atlantic slope. And even in the middle portion, where the Dutch settled on the banks of the Hudson and the Swedes on the banks of the Delaware, the Anglo-Saxon race was destined soon to take possession of that extensive and fertile region, and absorb both these colonies; so much so, that at this day scarcely a vestige of either remains, save in some proper names of people and places. As to the Spanish colony in Florida, it never was of much account; and since the purchase of that country, in 1819, by the United States, it has faded away. It was otherwise with the French colony on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and especially on the banks of the Mississippi. That colony attained considerable extension and prosperity, and to this day there are 50,000 people in New Orleans who speak the French language, and as many more in the other parts of the State of Louisiana. In process of time, this colony, too, will be absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon race—a result which has already been nearly reached in regard to the French colonies planted in the great Central Valley, from Louisiana on the south and Canada on the north, such as Natchez, St. Louis, Vincennes, Du Quesne (now Pittsburgh), Detroit, &c.

We may add that, within a few years, the Spanish and Mexican colonies in Texas and California have become nearly absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon race—one of the consequences which have flowed from their annexation to the United States. The same thing will ultimately take place in what was the Province (now the Territory) of New Mexico.

To this statement it is necessary to add, that in many parts of the United States a *secondary* colonisation early took place, which, like a stratum of the earth's surface, overlaid the primary. Scotch, Irish, and Welsh settled in the middle States, and penetrated even into portions of the southern; Huguenots from France settled in Massachusetts, New York, and South Carolina, and to some extent in other States; Germans from the Palatinate settled in Pennsylvania and other middle States; several hundreds of Waldenses came, by way of Holland, to what is now the State of New York; and some families of Polish, Bohemian, and Moravian origin reached the New World. But this secondary colonisation was a colonisation of individuals and families, not of organised communities, under special charters or patents from European Governments. Still more recently—indeed, ever since the establishment of the independence of the country, in 1783, and especially since 1815, another and far more wide-spread colonisation has been going on—from the British Isles, from Germany, France, and all the rest of Western Europe—which is actually reaching every portion of the United States, even the remotest interior portions of the country.

At first, and for a long time, the progress of colonisation in the United States was slow, and the increase of the population was very gradual. This was owing to many causes, such as the very nature of the work—that of clearing away the forests, the building of houses, the ascertaining the nature and the proper management of diseases peculiar to the country and its climate; the frequent and dreadful wars with the savages, who roamed over rather than occupied the country; the repeated wars with the French, who possessed Canada and the entire Central Valley, from the Gulf of Mexico to the lakes, and more than once with the Spaniards—wars into which the colonies were sometimes dragged by their connexion with England, and sometimes were compelled to prosecute on their own account, because of the incitement and impulsion which the aborigines received from those

quarters. To these sources of hindrance may be added the forced reception, on the part of the colonies, especially those of the southern portion of the country, of so many thousands of savages from Africa, who were destitute of every element of true civilisation.

We have no means of knowing how many people were comprised in the primary colonisation of the country; but we cannot believe that there were anything like one hundred thousand. Indeed the chief causes which led to this colonisation did not exist more than sixty or seventy years. As there was no census taken of the colonies before their separation from England, in 1775, it is impossible to say with certainty what was the number of the inhabitants. Until the Treaty of Peace, in 1763, the Anglo-Saxon colonies did not extend beyond the Alleghany mountains; they only occupied the strip of land which forms the Atlantic coast. It is believed the population of these colonies, thirteen in number, at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, did not quite amount to three millions, of whom more than half a million were Africans, and nearly all slaves. In 1790, seven years after the independence of the country was established, the population was ascertained (by actual census) to be 3,929,327; in 1800, it was 5,305,925; in 1810, it was 7,239,814; in 1820, it was 9,638,131; in 1830, it was 12,866,020; in 1840, it was 17,069,453; and, in 1850, it was 23,191,876. It is estimated at the Bureau of the Census, that at the end of the year 1854, the population was 26,500,000. At the same ratio it is now nearly, if not quite, 27,500,000.

At the epoch of the Revolution there were thirteen colonies, which, upon separating from England, became independent States; the number of such States is now thirty-one, embracing 1,464,105 square miles. Besides these thirty-one States, there are now seven organised Territories, comprising more than 1,420,000 square miles; and one *Indian* Territory, lying west of Arkansas, comprising 71,127 square miles. The government of these thirty-one States and seven organised Territories is essentially the same in form. In each State there is a Governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives; in each Territory there is a Governor, a Council, and a House of Representatives. All of these seven Territories are large; the most of them will be divided up, in process of time, into several States. So, probably, will the *States* of Texas and California. A proper

division of the country will require, at some future day, at least forty-five if not fifty States.

IV.—THE PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY IN REGARD TO ITS MATERIAL INTERESTS.

At first, and for a long period, the progress of the country was slow in all respects. Much time was demanded to clear away the forests, to open up roads, to build cities, to create harbours, and to find means to navigate the long rivers and extensive bays. The foreign commerce of the country was in the hands of England, with the exception of the fisheries and the West India Islands. Nevertheless, in the face of all these difficulties, and in the face of those which we have mentioned in the preceding section, there was a steady advance in all the material interests of the country during the colonial era. Independence introduced a new state of things. Still it required many years to recover from the depressed state in which a war of seven years left the nation. In the meanwhile a constitution was to be formed, and a general government organised. Then followed disastrous wars with the Indians, difficulties with France and England, leading to a war with both—with the former, a short one, in 1798-99, and with the latter in 1812-15. All these things repressed the prosperity of the country for a long time; but since 1815, the progress has been immense. The steam-boat, an American invention, had just begun to ply on our long rivers at that epoch, and was destined to exert a mighty influence. Twenty years more passed away, and the railroad, an English invention, had begun to be built and to exert its vast influence. But of the present state of things we can only give a summary.

The value of the agricultural products of the country, in 1854, is estimated by Professor De Bow (now at the head of the Census Bureau), one of the best authorities on all subjects that relate to the material interests of the country, at the sum of 1,600,000,000 dols. Of these productions, Indian corn ranks first, being, in 1850, no less than 296,035,552 dols; wheat was next, being 100,485,944 dols.; and cotton stood third, being 98,603,720 dols. The number of farms was 1,449,075, and the number of acres of cultivated land was 113,032,614.

The manufacturing establishments were, in 1850, 121,855, employing 944,991 persons, and the gross value produced was 1,013,336,463 dols.

The home and foreign commerce of the country, in 1850, has been carefully estimated by Professor De Bow, at 1,500,000,000 dols.; employing, according to the census, 100,752 merchants proper, and 14,917 traders. The commerce of the Western rivers and of the lakes has been estimated at 653,976,202 dols. The tonnage, in 1853, was 4,407,010. It is now believed to exceed that of England.

In 1854, there were 17,317 miles of railroad in operation; 12,526 in process of construction; and the cost was estimated at 489,603,128 dols. On the 1st of January, 1855, it was believed that there were 35,480 miles of railroad on the surface of the earth, of which 16,890 were in the Eastern hemisphere, and 18,590 in the Western. On the 1st of January, 1856, there were 23,242 miles of railroad in the United States, whose cost was estimated at 697,260,000 dols.

Of canals, in 1854, there were 4,798 miles. The value of real and personal estate, in 1850, was, by the census, estimated to be 6,024,666,909 dols.; but it is believed to have been, in reality, all of 7,066,562,966 dols.

The entire number of steam-vessels in the United States, in 1852, was 1,392,* with a tonnage of 417,223. The number of ocean steamers was 96.

The coinage of the United States, in the year 1800, was in value 571,335 dols.; in 1852, it was 57,104,569 dols., of which 56,205,638 dols. were in gold. In 1853, it was 64,358,537 dols.

In 1853, there were 89 telegraphic lines, having 23,201 miles of wire. At the commencement of the year 1855, the miles of telegraphic wire were estimated at over 30,000.

The receipts into the treasury of the general or central government, in 1852, were 49,728,386 dols.; those for 1855, from all sources, were 65,003,930 dols. Its debt, July 1st, 1854, was 47,180,506 dols.; it is now less than 40,000,000 dols.

The revenues of the several States, from taxation, were, in 1852, 27,068,925 dols.; their expenditures, 24,628,666 dols.; and their debts, in the shape of bonds for internal improvements, were, June 30th, 1853, 190,718,221 dols., of which 110,972,108 dols., it is estimated, were held by foreigners.

* Last year (1855) there were 120 steamers and 118 propellers on the lakes, and 816 steamers on the Western rivers; the tonnage of these 1,054 vessels was 435,848.

V.—THE PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY IN REGARD TO ITS MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS.

If the progress of the United States has been great in what constitutes the material interests of the country, it may be affirmed with truth, that its progress has not been less in what may be called its Moral and Intellectual Interests. We will consider this subject from several points of view.

EDUCATION.

In no subject is a greater interest felt among us than that of Education. The six States of New England* and New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and California, have each a system of public schools, by which instruction, if not gratuitous, is given at a reduced cost to all the youth who attend them. It is done, in some cases, by taxation, in others by the proceeds of funds created for that purpose, and in some cases (indeed, most generally) by means of both taxation and permanent funds. When to the aid thus received we add the sums contributed by the pupils, where, as in most cases, they are required to pay something per month, or for three months, the whole amount becomes great.

In the other States the governments give large sums for the education of the children of the poor, derived from taxation, or from permanent funds.

According to the census of 1850, the number of public schools (that is, of schools sustained or aided by the Government, as explained) was 80,978; the number of teachers was 91,966; of pupils, 3,354,011; and the amount paid for tuition was 9,529,542 dols., of which 4,653,096 dols. were derived from taxation, 2,552,402 dols. from public funds, 182,594 dols. from endowments, and 2,141,450 dols. were paid by the pupils.

The number of academies and private schools was 6,089; of pupils attending them, 263,096; of teachers, 12,230; and the cost of tuition was 4,225,433 dols., of which sum 288,855 dols. were derived from endowments, 14,202 dols. from taxation, 115,729 dols. from public funds, and 4,225,433 dols. from other sources—in other words, were paid by the pupils.

* Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

The entire number of pupils in the schools, public and private, in 1850, was, therefore, 3,617,107, as returned by the teachers of the schools to the marshals who took the census; but, as returned by the parents, it was 4,089,507;* the former giving, it is probable, the number that attended with a good degree of regularity, whilst the latter included all that were sent for any period, however short. The entire cost of tuition, including public and private schools, as well as the academies, was that year 14,173,756 dols.

In 1850, there were 119 colleges, with 1,032 professors, 11,093 students, and 968,716 volumes in their libraries.

There were 44 theological seminaries, 127 professors, 1,351 students, and 198,888 volumes in their libraries.

There were 36 medical schools, 247 professors, 4,947 students.

There were 16 law schools, 35 professors, 532 students.†

The entire number of what are commonly called *colleges* was, in 1850, 215, and the number of students was 18,733.

We should not give a complete view of what is doing for the education of the people of the United States, if we did not say that it is believed that there cannot be less than 35,000 Sunday-schools, with at least 2,500,000 pupils in them. These schools have generally interesting libraries attached to them. Not a few persons, especially among the adult pupils, receive all the education they ever get at the Sunday-school.

The public funds and endowments for the support of schools and academies in the United States exceed 50,000,000 dollars. Up to January 1st, 1854, Congress had appropriated to fourteen Western and South-western States (including Florida) and the Territories of Minnesota, Oregon, and New Mexico, no less than 48,909,535 acres of land for schools, and 4,060,704 acres for colleges and universities.

Within the last twenty-five years, many of the large cities have done much to found admirable public schools. In this good work Boston stands at the head; but Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati, Baltimore, New Orleans, Louisville, and many others, have also done well.

* Of these 4,089,507 pupils returned as attending school, in 1850, those born in the country were 3,942,081; 147,426 were born in foreign lands; and 26,461 were free coloured children.

† The number of law students is great in America; but most of them pursue their studies with lawyers of eminence, and do not attend the law schools.

It may not be amiss to add that, according to the census of 1850, the white population was 19,558,088, and the free people of colour 434,495—making together a total of almost 20,000,000. Of this number there were 1,053,420 persons over twenty years who could not read—namely 767,784 natives, 195,114 foreigners, and 90,522 free coloured.

Finally, we have to say that, including the entire population, bond as well as free, the number of pupils in the schools, of all descriptions, was in the ratio of 1 to 5·6.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Of what we call Public Libraries in the United States, there were, in 1850, more than 1,200, containing 1,446,015 volumes. There were 213 college libraries, containing 942,321 volumes. If we add those of the common schools, of Sunday-schools, and of churches, the whole number of volumes could not have been less than four millions and a half. Several of the public libraries are large and well-selected. That of Harvard College has more than 85,000 volumes; the Astor Library (at New York) has nearly, if not quite, as many; the Philadelphia Library has more than 60,000 volumes. The library of Congress has at least as many.

THE PRESS.

The first newspaper published in North America was the *Boston News Letter*, issued April 24th, 1704. In 1720, there were seven newspapers in the American Colonies; in 1775, there were thirty-five; in 1800, there were 359; in 1840, there were 1631 (including 227 periodicals, such as semi-monthly, monthly, quarterly, semi-annual, and annual); and in 1850, there were 2,302 newspapers (daily, tri-weekly, semi-weekly, and weekly) of which 153,120,708 copies were printed annually. If we add 214 "periodicals," with their circulation, we shall have a total of 2,516 publications (newspapers, &c.) with an aggregate amount of circulation of 5,183,017. When reduced to a tabular form they will stand thus:—

	Number.	Circulation.
Literary and Miscellaneous	569	1,692,403
Neutral and Independent	83	303,722
Political	1,630	1,907,794
Religious	191	1,071,657
Scientific	53	207,041
	2,526	5,182,617

Since 1850 the number of newspapers has increased from 2,302 to more than 2,500.

VI.—THE PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY IN REGARD TO ITS RELIGIOUS INTERESTS.

We advance now to the greatest subject to which our attention can be called, so far as the United States are concerned. It is natural to inquire, amid all the vast progress which that country has made in extending its boundaries—in increasing its population — in developing its resources — in augmenting its wealth — in promoting education, and diffusing intelligence among its inhabitants—What advancement has Religion made? Has there been a spiritual progress commensurate with, and equal to, that which has occurred in the material and intellectual world of America? To these inquiries I propose now to reply.

It is easy to conceive that the colonial era, from 1607 to 1775 —a period of 168 years—was not favourable to the interests of religion, for reasons which we have stated—the difficulties inseparable from colonisation, together with wars with the aborigines, with French and Spanish neighbours, and the discussions and controversies with England that brought on the Revolution. Although religion flourished more in new England than in the Middle and Southern Colonies, even there there were times of much spiritual declension, especially after the first and second generations of the colonists had passed away. There were, however, revivals of religion from time to time, under the labours of the famous Jonathan Edwards and others. The visits of Tennant and Whitfield did much good in the latter part of this period.

In the Middle Colonies—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware—although there were some prosperous times, when the Churches were blessed under the labours of some most godly ministers, among whom were the Tennants, the Finleys, the Smiths, Whitfield, and others of a similar character, yet it cannot be said that religion flourished during the colonial era. Nor was the state of things better in the Southern Colonies than in the Middle, but worse. And yet the Saviour had His faithful servants there; and there, too, the visits of Whitfield and of John Wesley were much blest to the keeping alive of piety in the Churches.

It is an interesting fact, that in many of the charters granted

by the Kings of England to the colonies, both in the North and the South, the propagation of religion was set forth as an important object in the planting of them. In some cases, the conversion of the "salvages," or aborigines, is set forth as a prominent object. The great and good Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, had the same noble object in view—the propagation of Christianity, the Protestant religion—in regard to his projected colony on the banks of the Delaware.

It was a great calamity for the cause of pure religion, that the principle of uniting the Church with the State entered into the constitutions of so many of the colonies. In Virginia, and nearly all the other Southern Colonies, it was the Episcopal Church which was established by law, and supported by the civil power. Until the Revolution, that Church in America was under the care and government of the Bishop of London. All its ministers were obliged to receive consecration to the sacred office in England. For more than one hundred years there was no toleration whatever in Virginia for other forms of Protestantism than that of the Episcopal Church, or "Church of England," as it was more commonly called. It was with great difficulty that Baptist and Presbyterian ministers at last forced their way, if we may so say, into that great colony. Some of the earlier Baptist ministers had the honour to preach Christ from the windows of their prisons in that colony; and the first Presbyterian ministers met with rough usage. At times, it was not much better in the Carolinas, and Maryland, notwithstanding the tolerant spirit of John Locke and Lord Calvert.

Equal intolerance, almost, prevailed in the colony of New York, after it passed from the hands of the Dutch into those of the English, in 1664. Episcopacy became the established form of Christianity, and was the dominant faith for more than one hundred years, in the first half of which it was eminently exclusive.

In Massachusetts, the "Pilgrims," who settled at Plymouth in 1620, were strict Independents. The "Puritans," who, ten years afterwards, founded the colony of "Massachusetts Bay," at Boston and in its environs, were members of the Established Church of England, when they left that country, but became Independents, or rather Congregationalists, soon after their arrival in America. Believing, in accordance with the spirit of the age, that the union of Church and State is the *normal* state

of things—looking much more to the Jewish economy than to the kingdom which Jesus Christ set up—they established a complete union of the Church with the State. It was, indeed, a fusion of the two institutions, almost as complete as that which prevailed in the Hebrew Commonwealth or state. An inevitable consequence was the *intolerance* which banished Roger Williams, and put to death three or four Quakers. For more than a hundred years Congregationalism had the ground to itself in Massachusetts (including Maine, as a *province*), New Hampshire, and Connecticut—just as Episcopacy had in New York and the Southern Colonies. The bitter fruits were the same in all—intolerance, bigotry, persecution, and a growing unfaithfulness and latitudinarianism among the pastors, on the one hand, and increasing worldly-mindedness and indifference to sound doctrine and gradual demoralisation among the people, on the other.

The period that extended from 1775, when the Revolution commenced which separated the English colonies now embraced in the United States from the mother country, to the year 1815, when the second war between Great Britain and America came to a close (a period of forty years), was eminently unfavourable to the progress of true religion. A long contest of seven years, in the beginning; one of three years, in the latter part of it; bloody wars with the Indians; severe controversies with England and France; together with many internal difficulties attendant on the efforts to organise a government for the whole country, and others which we need not name, made this an era of constant agitation. And yet it was a period of preparation.

Shortly after the close of the Revolution, the union of Church and State in the Southern States came to a complete termination. In the great battle which was fought in Virginia, the Presbyterians and Baptists took the lead, and were aided by Mr. Jefferson. In New York the same happy result was also attained; whilst in New England the contest was long, especially in Connecticut and Massachusetts. And although the separation of Church and State was not complete in the former till 1816, and in the latter till 1833, yet religious liberty had gained so much ground in these States before those years, that there was but little to desire. The Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists, were arrayed in this struggle against the "Established Order," or Congregational body of Churches.

During this period, so momentous in the history of the United States, we may indicate three or four movements which greatly concerned religion. 1. The struggle, North and South, to effect the separation of Church and State. 2. The termination of the African slave-trade in 1808. 3. The development of Unitarianism and Universalism in the New England States, both of which owe their existence and growth to the unhappy union of the Church with the State which once existed in that part of the country. And, 4. The resuscitation of true religion, which commenced in almost all parts of the United States, and which was to be seen, not only in those extensive revivals that marked the close of the last century and the commencement of the present, but also in the formation of some of the great societies which now bless our country and the world, and the preparation of the way for the formation of those which have followed.*

But it has been in the period which has elapsed since the year 1815 that religion has most advanced in the United States—a period in which the country has also received a vast extension of boundary. It is true that within that period of forty years we have had perturbations, occasioned by commercial crises; two or three wars with the aborigines; a war of two years and more with Mexico; sharp political contests and discussions about slavery; and some severe visitations of epidemic diseases. Yet the country has enjoyed, on the whole, great prosperity, both spiritual and material. In a Report which I had the honour to read before the British Branch of the Evangelical Alliance in 1851,† I took occasion to state, that, whilst the population of the United States had increased, in the half-century commencing with the year 1800 and extending to 1850, fourfold and nearly a half, the number of Evangelical Churches, ministers, and communicants, or members of such Churches, had increased more than ninefold. This statement was considered to be strange, and even incredible, in some parts of Europe; but I am not aware that it was contradicted in any quarter in America, where it was widely published; or even controverted, excepting in one or two cases, in which it was believed that I had *understated*, not *overstated*, the facts in relation to some branches of the one

* For a full account of the colonisation of the United States, the religious character of the several colonies, and the obstacles which religion had to encounter in that period, the reader is referred to the author's "Religion in America."

† See the volume entitled "The Religious Condition of Christendom," p. 583.—Ed.

Evangelical and true Church of Christ. When I made that Report, the Census of the United States for 1850 had not been published; that important document—or volume rather—has since been issued, and brings to light some facts of the most cheering nature; facts that establish the positions which I took in regard to the number of church edifices, the extent of "church accommodation," &c. We will give some of these facts.

The entire number of church edifices, or buildings used statedly as church edifices, belonging to the several denominations, was no less than 38,183, the value of which was estimated at 87,446,371 dols. By careful calculation it was found that these 38,183 churches furnished accommodations for 14,270,139 persons. As the population of the country was that year 23,191,876, it will be perceived that there was "church accommodation" for far more than one-half of the population. The late great and good Dr. Chalmers once told the writer that he could not admit that any country had sufficient church accommodation unless there was room in its church edifices for *one-third* part of the population. But we had room in our church edifices, in 1850, for much more than *one-half* of the population.* Nor is the state of things, it is believed, less favourable now (1855) than it was in 1850.

But we must add, that it is proper to take into view the fact that the Gospel is preached, not only in church edifices, or edifices built expressly for public worship, but also in many thousands of other places—court-houses, school-houses, and private houses. It is often preached, in the summer, in the forests of the "far west." We should speak quite within the limits of truth, if we were to say the Gospel is preached, if not every week, yet from time to time in at least 100,000 places every year.

Perhaps, also, it may not be amiss to say, that in many parts of the United States the custom exists to preach a discourse, on funeral occasions, at the house of the deceased, and conduct appropriate ceremonies, which are often attended by people who seldom go to the regular services of the sanctuary. In all parts, and among all denominations of Christians, it is customary to have some religious services at the grave.

The census for 1850 reports the number of regular ministers

* It would be nearly exact to say that the church edifices in the United States were sufficient to accommodate somewhat more than 61 per cent. of the population.

of the Gospel to be 26,842. Professor De Bow supposes that if we were to add the number of those who preach occasionally, it would increase the number of those who preach the Gospel to 30,000. But this estimate is evidently too low. The number of "local ministers"—that is, ordained ministers who had not charges of churches, but were occupied through the week in secular employments—in the several branches of the Methodist Church, and in other Churches which have such preachers, could not have been at that time less than 8,500, at the very lowest estimate, making the number more than 35,000.

According to the census just referred to, the Methodist Church, comprehending all its branches, had church edifices which were worth 14,826,148 dols., and accommodated 4,354,101 persons. The Prebyterians of all branches* had church edifices worth 19,629,049 dols., which accommodated 2,419,474 persons. The Baptist Church, or denomination, had church edifices that were worth 11,001,127 dols., and accommodated 3,248,580 persons. The Episcopal Church had church edifices of the value of 11,384,210 dols., and that accommodated 644,598 persons. The Congregational denomination had church edifices that were worth 7,970,195 dols., and accommodated 801,835 persons. The Lutheran Church had church edifices to the amount of 2,854,286 dols., and that accommodated 535,180 persons. And the Church of Rome had church edifices that were worth 9,256,758 dols., and held 675,721 persons. The Unitarians, Universalists, Swedenborgians, and some other non-evangelical sects, had church edifices which were worth 5,911,294 dols., and accommodated 661,487 persons.

It will be seen from this statement that the cause of Evangelical Christianity had vastly the ascendancy in the United States in 1850, if one may form an opinion from the statistics furnished by the census. It would not be going too far to say that the Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Universalists of every hue, Swedenborgians, and others whose claims to the faith of the Reformers of the sixteenth century are more than doubtful, did not at that time possess church edifices which were worth more than 17,000,000 dols., and which held not more than 1,400,000 persons. Romanists, we may remark, in passing, have complained that the census did not do them justice, inasmuch as it

* Including the Reformed Dutch Church, and the German Reformed.

does not refer to the fact that many of their churches have several congregations every Sabbath, assembling at different hours; but the Protestants might make the same complaint.

We have stated that the number of ministers of the Gospel in actual service in 1850 was 26,842 (besides the "local preachers"), of whom, we may add, 24,405 belonged to the Evangelical Churches.

RELATIVE PROGRESS OF RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the *Foreign Missionary* (one of our most valuable missionary journals, and an organ of one of the great branches of the Presbyterian Church) for the months of April and May last, are to be found two important articles on this interesting subject, the substance of which is, that there were at the commencement of this year (1855) 26,252 Evangelical ministers, without counting "local preachers," the number of whom, as we shall see presently, is more than 12,000 in the Methodist Churches alone; and that whilst the increase of population from 1832 to 1854 was 88 per cent., the Evangelical ministers had increased in the same period (of twenty-two years) 175 per cent.

The author of these articles estimates that

In 1832	there was	1	Evangelical minister to every	1,437 souls.
In 1843	„	1	„	1,093 „
In 1854	„	1	„	988 „

He states further, that there are in the Evangelical Churches in the United States 3,410,000 communicants, out of a population of 18,582,000 inhabitants over ten years of age. In other words, there is one communicant in Evangelical Churches to every $5\frac{1}{2}$ persons above ten years of age, or one to every $7\frac{2}{3}$ persons in the entire population. We shall see that, favourable as this view of the state of things in the United States is, there is good reason for believing that it falls far within the limits of exact truth.

PROGRESS OF THE PRINCIPAL CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES.

We will consider the principal Churches in America in the order in which they appeared.

I. The Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church is the oldest in the United States. For a long time it was the established and dominant

Church in most of the southern colonies, and in that of New York, and greatly suffered from its connexion with the State. Its progress since its emancipation from that connexion has been steady and even rapid. In the year 1800, it is believed there were 320 churches, 16,000 communicants, 260 ministers, and 7 bishops. In 1820, there were 9 bishops, and about 500 ministers, and probably 30,000 communicants. There are now 33 dioceses, 38 bishops, 1,714 clergy, and 105,350 communicants. Of the bishops, two at present are not in service, and three were appointed bishops for missionary fields abroad, one in Western Africa, and one in China. In the Sabbath-schools connected with the Episcopal Church, there were, in the year 1854, 69,000 pupils; the contributions of the Church were, the same year, 398,650 dols.

II. The Congregational Denomination.

This Church, if we may employ the word in this sense in reference to a body which, like the Baptists, is not united by any general organization, was the second that appeared in this country. It has steadily advanced in numbers and influence from the first. It now has 2,449 churches, 1,848 pastors, 479 ministers without charge (such as professors, teachers, etc.), and 207,608 members. The Congregational body was long the dominant denomination in New England, and was scarcely found beyond the limits of that part of the country. It now exists, however, in the States of New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and California. It has increased steadily and even rapidly, but not so rapidly as it would have done, if so many of those who have emigrated from New England had not fallen into the Presbyterian and other Churches; chiefly, until lately, because they could not find the Church of their education and preference elsewhere. No Churches in the United States, it is believed, give more money, according to their means, than the Congregational, for the advancement of the kingdom of God at home and abroad.

III. The Baptist Churches.

No denomination of Evangelical Christians encountered so much opposition, both in the north and in the south, at the hands of the Established Churches in those portions of the country, in the colonial era, as the Baptists; and certainly not more than one Church has had greater success during the last fifty years. A few figures will prove this. In 1707, there were

but 17 Baptist churches in the United States; in 1740, there were 37; in 1762, there were 56; in 1792, there were 1,150 churches, 891 ministers, and 65,345 members; in 1812, there were 2,433 churches, and 1,922 ministers; in 1854, there were of "Regular," or "Associated" Baptists, 500 associations, 10,131 churches, 6,175 ordained ministers, and 808,754 members. If we include, as we ought, the anti-mission (hyper-Calvinists), Free Will Baptists, "General Baptists," "Seventh Day Baptists" (71 churches, 77 ministers, and about 6,500 members), Tunkers, and "Disciples of Christ" (often called "Campbellites"), we must add at least 5,000 churches, 2,350 ministers, and 270,000 members, making the total of Baptists in the United States to be—15,131 churches, 8,525 ministers, and 1,078,754 members.

IV. The Presbyterian Churches.

In the year 1705, a Presbytery, consisting of seven ministers from the north of Ireland and from New England, was formed. From this arose the large body of churches which bear the distinctive appellation of Presbyterian. In 1800, it is believed there were about 300 ministers, 500 churches, and 40,000 communicants, or members. In 1832, there were 1,935 ministers and licentiates. In 1843, the two branches (for this Church was divided, in 1838, into two bodies, called Old and New School) had 2,991 ministers and licentiates. In 1855, the statistics of these two bodies combined were as follows: 2 general assemblies, 54 synods, 256 presbyteries, 3,828 ministers, 348 licentiates, 673 candidates, 4,738 churches, 374,433 members, and 10 theological seminaries; contributions to congregational, missionary, educational, and other religious subjects, at least 4,000,000 dols.

We subjoin, in a tabular form, the statistics of the other branches of the Presbyterian family or group of Churches:—

	General Assem.	Synods	Presbyteries.	Ministers.	Licentiates.	Candidates.	Churches.	Members.
Associate Church	—	1	20	164	21	35	267	21,588
Associate Reformed	—	5	31	315	30	60	375	30,000
Ref. Presbyterian	—	2	13	108	15	22	160	14,000
Cumberland Pres.	1	16	48	800	400	80	1,000	100,000
German Reformed	—	2	23	350	25	40	1,000	110,000
Reformed Dutch	1	2	28	380	15	35	376	36,297

Combining these six Presbyterian denominations or communions with the two great branches just spoken of, we have a

total of 4 general assemblies or general synods, 82 synods, 422 presbyteries and classes, 5,941 ordained ministers, 824 licentiates, 945 candidates, 7,862 congregations, and 686,318 members, or communicants. This Presbyterian family, or group of Churches, have, in all, 19 theological schools under their control, and 30 colleges, with more than 5,000 students in them. In the year 1800, there were not more than 450 ministers, 700 congregations, and 60,000 members in all the Presbyterian bodies in the United States. The three Scottish bodies (the Associate, Associate Reformed, and Reformed Presbyterian) now numbering 587 ministers, 802 churches, and 65,588* members, scarcely existed at that time. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church did not exist till 1810. The increase of the German Reformed Church has been great within the last forty years.

V. The Methodist Churches.

This is the youngest of all the larger sisterhoods of Churches in the United States, and is by far the most numerous. The first Methodist Church in America was organised on Christmas-day, 1784, only seventy-one years ago. The progress of this branch of the Evangelical body has been unparalleled. I am indebted to a minister in that body (the Rev. Mr. Butler), every way competent to the task, for a very complete report, made up to the latest possible date, say the 1st of January, 1855. Of this report I can only give a *résumé*.

As in the case of the Presbyterian body, the Methodist Church in the United States has several branches.

There are the great branches called the "Methodist Episcopal Church" (in the north), and the "Methodist Episcopal Church, South." We subjoin a tabular view of the whole:—

	Bishops.	Presiding Elders.	Effective Ministers.	Membership.	Missionaries. Home.	For.
Meth. Epis. Church . . .	7	235	4,579	783,358	823	47
Meth. Epis Church, South .	7	131	1,672	579,515	271	34
United Brethren in Christ .	4	—	250	67,000	—	—
Evangelical Association . .	2	—	195	21,076	—	—
African Meth. Epis. Church	3	—	300	21,237	—	—
Afr. Meth. Epis. Zion Ch. .	2	—	155	6,203	—	—
Methodist Protestant Ch. .	–	—	916	70,018	103	—
Wesleyan Methodist Conn.	–	—	310	23,000	—	—
Prim. Methodist Church .	–	—	12	1,100	—	—
	25	366	8,389	1,572,507	1,197	81

* This figure is too low. The Associate Reformed Church must now have at least 35,000 members instead of 30,000.

We add a few other statistics: These several branches of the Methodist Family of Churches have 132 Annual Conferences, 12,618 "local ministers," who preach more or less every week, 811 "superannuated ministers," many of whom preach a great deal; making a total of 22,209 ministers of all classes; 1,255,897 members of Anglo-Saxon origin, 209,580 of African origin, 100,562 Germans, 1,024 Swedes and Norwegians, 515 Welsh, 4,929 Indians; 13,146 Sabbath-schools, 129,885 teachers in such schools, 691,700 scholars, and 1,959,628 volumes in Sunday-school libraries; 17,949 conversions in Sabbath-schools in 1854; 138,093 members of mission churches in the home field; 56 foreign missions, 81 missionaries, 30 "local preachers," 6,869 members, 89 day and Sunday-schools, with 3,469 pupils, in the foreign field; amount expended in missions since 1819, 3,408,997 dols.

There belong to the Methodist Family of Churches in the United States, 13,280 church edifices, with 4,343,579 sittings, valued at 14,822,870 dols.; amount of stock in "Book Concerns," 696,326 dols.; and annual sale (in 1852), 199,687 dols.; 10 quarterly and monthly periodicals, with a subscription list of 225,000; 24 religious newspapers, with a weekly circulation of 127,900; 24 colleges, with 99 professors, 1,779 students, 61,270 volumes in their libraries; property in funds, 1,327,115 dols., and income of 43,824 dols.; 133 female seminaries and colleges, 11,678 pupils; 505,129 dols. vested in their behalf; amount given in 1854 to the Bible, Tract, Missionary, Sunday-school Societies, and for support of superannuated ministers, 734,618 dols.

Mr. Butler states that the amount invested by the Methodist Churches in their book concerns, colleges and seminaries, churches, &c., is 17,411,440 dols.; and he estimates the amount given in 1854 to the support of the ministers, religious societies, Sunday-schools, &c., including income from the college and other vested funds (but not including what was given in ordinary charities, building of churches, &c.), at 7,536,916 dols.; which, deducting the coloured membership in the "Methodist Church, South," is, on an average, more than five dollars per member.

He estimates the proportion of the population of the country which may be said to be under the spiritual care of "American Methodism," at 5,525,948.

VI. Other Churches.

The Lutheran Church.—This Church is rapidly increasing among us, partly through conversions, partly from immigration. In 1841, the number of ministers was 406, congregations, 1,200, communicants, 104,000, under the control of one general synod, and 14 district synods. We have been unable to get hold of the statistics of this Church for 1854; but, according to the best-informed ministers of the body, whom I have within a few weeks consulted, I think the following general statement within the limits of exact truth: 1 general synod, 32 district synods, 1,000 ministers, 1,900 congregations, 225,000 communicants, 8 theological schools, 6 colleges, 10 or 12 male and female academies, a deaconess institute (at Pittsburg), an education society, a foreign missionary society, a home missionary society, a church extension society, 12 religious newspapers and other periodicals, 6 of which are in English, 5 in German, and 1 in Norwegian. The Foreign Missionary Society for several years aided Rev. Dr. Rhenius and the Palamcotta Mission in India. It now has five ordained missionaries and their ladies in that country, 5 young men (natives) preparing for their work, 7 small congregations, 86 communicants, 24 schools, and 355 pupils. Its receipts the last two years were 11,797 dols. The Home Missionary Society employs some 30 or 40 missionaries in the home field.

Moravians, or "United Brethren": this is but a small body with us, having several communities, chiefly in Pennsylvania. They have 1 bishop, 23 churches, 28 ministers, and about 5,000 communicants. This body is distinguished for its morality, industry, and zeal for the cause of missions.

Mennonites.—This quiet and inoffensive body is estimated to embrace 400 churches, 250 ministers, and 30,000 members. The congregations are small. Their assemblies are more frequently held in private houses than elsewhere. Their influence is very inconsiderable. They perform baptism by *pouring* water on the subject, and not by immersion or sprinkling.

Winebrennerians.—This is a small branch of German Christians, chiefly in the State of Pennsylvania, that take their name from a Mr. Winebrenner, of that State, who is a most zealous and worthy man. They have 6 elders, 130 preachers, 168 churches, 415 preaching stations, and 17,500 members. These people, we ought to say, call their body *The Church of God*—not Winebrennerians.

The Orthodox Friends.—We know not the number of their "meetings," or of their "meeting-houses" or places of worship. The census of 1850 states that their places of worship were valued at 1,713,767 dols., and their church accommodation at 287,073. From this we gather that there must be some six or seven hundred congregations. It would be correct, perhaps, to say, that, of these, 300 are orthodox, that is, hold to the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and salvation only through the merits of Jesus Christ.

NUMBER OF EVANGELICAL MINISTERS AND MEMBERS.

From these statistics it would appear that, in the beginning of 1855, there were, in the United States, 28,270 ordained ministers of the Gospel belonging to the several Evangelical branches of the one true Church of Christ. The number of the members or communicants in such branches was 3,927,992. If we suppose the population of the United States to be at present 26,500,000, then there is one minister, on an average, for a fraction more than 937 inhabitants. And this leaves out of view the Evangelical Friends, whose statistics we do not possess, and also the ministrations of the "local ministers," who, as we have seen, exceed 12,000 in the Methodist body alone. This statement is more favourable than that which we quoted from an organ of the Presbyterian Church. We have no doubt that the statistics of all the Evangelical Churches in the United States would show at this time a membership of four millions! Nor can the number of those who preach "Christ crucified" with a good degree of faithfulness and clearness—ministers having pastoral charges, professors in colleges and seminaries, licentiates, local preachers, etc.—be at all less than 40,000.

THE NON-EVANGELICAL BODIES.

We have hitherto spoken only of those who, in their symbols of doctrine and in their preaching, hold, according to the Reformers and the Apostles, the "faith that saves." But we should not give a correct view of the country, nor do justice to the voluntary or self-sustaining principle of religion with us, if we did not take proper notice of those who are not deemed Evangelical in their doctrines and practice.

1. *The Unitarians.*—This body is nearly confined to New

England, and even there exists mainly in Massachusetts. They number about 260 congregations, as many ministers, and 35,000 members. Their increase does not correspond to that of the population of the country, or that of any of the large Evangelical bodies. There are two parties among them; the more serious constitute one, and Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and others of the "Natural" school, who are Rationalists—Deists, in other words—are at the head of the other. They have two theological schools; one at Cambridge (near Boston), the other at Meadville, in Pennsylvania. 2. *Swedenborgians*—of whom there may be 45 churches, 32 or 33 ministers, and 5,000 members. 3. *Christians**—who are reckoned to have about 600 congregations (generally small), 500 preachers, and 30,000 or 35,000 members. 4. *Universalists.*—According to the most recent statement which they have published, there are of this body 828 churches, and 640 ministers. The number of the members of their churches was not given. It may be 50,000, although we doubt it. There is, on the part of some of this body, as well as of the Unitarians, a growing sense of their need of more spiritual life. 5. *Roman Catholics.*—In the month of May, 1855, there were 7 archbishops, 33 bishops, 1,704 priests, 1,824 churches, 21 incorporated and 5 unincorporated colleges (having 2,612 students), 31 theological seminaries (attached to as many dioceses, and directed by the bishops), with 500 students, and 117 female academies. As to communicants, or members of this body, we can say nothing definite. Rome furnishes no such details. Archbishop Hughes, of New York, when he says that there are three millions and a half of Roman Catholics in the United States, simply means to include all who attend the Roman Catholic Church, or who have received the rite of baptism at the hands of the priests—men, women, and children. We are inclined to think there are not more than three millions, or at most three millions and a quarter of Romanists in the United States. The number of "communicants" can hardly exceed twelve or fourteen hundred thousand. 6. *Jews.*—The number of Jews is increasing in America. Their synagogues were estimated, in 1850, to hold 19,588 persons, and valued at 415,000 dols. We should suppose that the number of their synagogues may be 60 or 65.

* They are commonly called "*Christ*-ians," to give them a distinctive name.

Summary of the Non-Evangelical Bodies.

It will appear from what we have just said, that the number of ministers in the non-evangelical bodies, great and small, is 2,486; of the congregations, 3,607; and that of the members about 700,000.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES, AS SHOWN IN THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES TO WHICH IT GIVES ORIGIN.

At the beginning of this century, with the exception of what was doing by two or three little societies in New England, and by the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, which was very inconsiderable, there were no operations for Home Missions among us. And, with the exception of the little Church of the Moravians, there was no activity at all displayed in the foreign field. It is very different now, as the following facts will show. We begin with the home field:—

I. Home Missions.

Last year the American Home Missionary Society employed 1,032 missionaries; the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church (in 1853-54) employed 523 missionaries; the Board of Missions of the Associate Presbyterian Church, 41; the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 98; Baptist Home Missionary Society (North), 179; Southern Baptist Convention, 88; American and Foreign Christian Union, 62; Board of Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church, 50; the Boards of Missions of the several branches of the Methodist Church, 1,197; Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, (about) 65; in all, 3,335, at an expense of 728,539 dols. This is not complete, but is sufficiently so to give a good idea of what is doing in the cause of Home Missions; and this movement, we may add, is comparatively of recent origin.

II. The Bible Societies.

The American Bible Society printed last year 901,400 copies of the Bible and New Testament, and has issued, from its organization in 1816, no less than 10,653,647 copies. The American and Foreign Bible Society issued, in 1853-54, 51,032 volumes, and has published more than 550,000 copies since its formation. The American Bible Union has not yet published much at home. The entire number of copies of the Bible, in whole or in part, published by the Bible societies just named, as well as the Bible Society of Philadelphia, considerably exceeds

eleven millions; the largest part of which has been for the benefit of the people of the United States. The receipts of these societies, in 1854, exceeded 500,000 dols.

III. The Tract and Book Publication Societies.

The American Tract Society published last year—of volumes, 961,363, and of tracts, 10,091,214 copies; the Presbyterian Board of Publication circulated last year 252,413 volumes; the Baptist Publication Board (North) published last year more than 26,000,000 pages; the Tract Society of the Methodist Church published many hundred thousand copies of 58 volumes and 467 tracts. The American Sunday-school Mission has issued more than 2,000 different publications, many of them books for libraries; the Methodist Sunday-school Union nearly as many; the Massachusetts Sunday-school Union, 2,500 at least; the Episcopal Sunday-school Union, 300. The receipts of these several societies last year exceeded 525,000 dols., and they employed more than 1,300 colporteurs and missionaries, whose work consisted greatly in promoting the circulation of good books and tracts.

IV. The Education Societies and Institutions.

The American Education Society, and its branches, aided last year 610 young men who are preparing for the ministry, and the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church aided 364—in all 974—belonging, with few exceptions, to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches alone. The Baptists, the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, the Reformed Dutch, the Cumberland Presbyterians, and other Evangelical Churches, also take great and increasing interest in the subject of properly educating their young men for the sacred ministry. We should not go too far if we were to say that it is probable that nearly, if not quite, 2,000 pious young men in the United States are at this moment receiving assistance from some society or association, in their efforts to prepare themselves, as far as human training can go, to preach the Gospel; and this at an expense of 250,000 dols. at the least. It is not necessary for me to say that great numbers of young men receive no such assistance, because they do not need it.

It may be proper to state here, that in addition to what is given to educate young men for the ministry, large sums of money are raised every year to found, or better endow, grammar-schools (or academies, as they are often called with us),

colleges, and theological seminaries, and this by nearly every Protestant branch of the Church. There are no less than 6 theological seminaries, 20 colleges, and 60 academies, in possession, and under the direct control, of one branch (the Old School) of the Presbyterian Church. The Methodists have 24 colleges. The Baptists have 10 theological schools and faculties, and 25 colleges. And all the other denominations have each one or more colleges. These colleges are not sectarian, but decidedly religious. The Bible is read and studied; sometimes the catechism, but not generally. They are open to young men of every creed, and it is a rare thing to hear of *proselytism* in favour of any particular Church, though proselytism in favour of the Gospel and all its blessings is earnestly pursued. I may name a college, that of New Jersey, at Princeton, which was founded by Presbyterians, and has ever been in their hands, at which distinguished men of all communions have been educated, and among them several bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, one of whom (the late Bishop Hobart, of New York), was for some time an officer in it.

Before I pass from this topic, I wish to say, that there is no subject in which a greater interest is taken in the United States than that of education. Not only is much doing for both primary and superior education, but also for intermediate schools. Besides those just referred to, an immense number of female academies have risen up, and many for boys. And lately, a movement has commenced in relation to establishing what may be called "People's Colleges." These are large schools, in which young men and young women—sons and daughters of farmers, mechanics, tradespeople, and others, who have received a common education in the primary schools—may, in the course of a year or two, or two or three winters, be far better instructed in the ordinary branches of education, and be taught the principles of the science which their future avocations may demand. Geography, history, grammar, some branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, the elements of chemistry, the Constitution of the United States, the art of writing and speaking with propriety, &c.—these are the subjects of study; sometimes one or two modern languages, but seldom Greek or Latin. This is a very recent movement. There are in the State of New York at least 10 such colleges, some of them attended by 500, 600, and even 800 students. One of them had last year 1,200 students, young people of both sexes,

who lived in separate boarding-houses, occupied different parts of the same lecture-room, and listened to the same instructions. Under a strong moral and religious influence, these young people are taught to have confidence in themselves, and to respect each other. And it must be confessed, that the experiment thus far works well. They are not children, but young men and women, influenced by the strongest desires to receive a better education than can be found in the ordinary schools. They have but a few months, or one or two years at most, to spare, and that with the greatest economy; and they expect to return to the labours of an industrial life. They are generally the children of religious people, and many of them are themselves pious persons. There are few things in America more interesting than this movement. It reminds one somewhat of the scholastic institutions of the Middle Ages.

It is easy to understand why the subject of education should excite so much interest in the United States. The nature of our political institutions requires it. Those institutions demand knowledge on the part of the people. Still more—our Protestant religion demands it, because of its fundamental principle that no man is allowed, in view of his Maker and Judge, to take refuge behind a church or priest, but must answer for himself—for his belief as well as his thoughts, his words, and his acts.

V. Foreign Missions.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (supported by a portion of the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists) had, last year, 161 ordained American missionaries, 35 native, and 448 assistants, male and female; the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 66 missionaries and 284 assistants, American and native; the Presbyterian Board, 64 missionaries and 161 assistants, American and native; the Board of Foreign Missions of the Episcopal Church, 15 ordained missionaries (including 2 bishops), and 30 assistants; the Southern Baptist Convention, about 15 missionaries; the American and Foreign Christian Union, 46; the Methodist Missionary Society, 81 missionaries and 30 assistants; the American Missionary Society, 20 missionaries. If to these we add the missionaries of the Free-Will Baptists, Seventh-Day Baptists, and some other small denominations, we may safely say there are 460 ordained missionaries, and 700 assistants, labouring in foreign

fields—in China, Siam, Burmah, India and Ceylon, Persia, Turkey, Papal countries in Europe and America, in Southern, South-Eastern, and Western Africa, in the islands in the Pacific Ocean, and among the aborigines on our borders, at an expense, last year, of not much, if at all, less than 800,000 dols. Connected with these missions, there are more than 340 churches and 53,000 members; a large number of schools, and at least 30,000 pupils, besides a goodly number of seminaries, and many printing-presses.

VI. Other Societies of a Domestic Nature.

Much is doing for seamen, for the promotion of temperance, for the proper observance of the Sabbath, for the support of widows and orphans, for the reformation of abandoned females, for the interests of the slaves, &c. All these objects have their appropriate organizations, often their appropriate journals, and are prosecuted at an expenditure of large sums of money—but how much, in the aggregate, it is not possible to say; half a million of dollars would not exceed the truth.

It results from what we have set forth in the preceding summaries, that we may safely say that the receipts of our religious societies amounted last year to more than 3,053,576 dols.

GENERAL REMARKS.

1. We think that we have said enough to show what has been, and what is now, the position of Christianity in the United States. In some of the most powerful States there was for a long time a very intimate union between the Church and State, disastrous to the former, and certainly injurious to the latter. But no such union now exists; the last lingering tie in Massachusetts having been sundered almost a quarter of a century ago; and I am quite sure that it would be very difficult to find a native of my country who would not look upon any sort of union of the Church and State, with us, as a calamity and curse; whatever may be its effects in other countries, about which we here express no opinion. The central Government pays the salaries of two chaplains for Congress, and those of the chaplains in the Navy and the Army, amounting to 47 in all, I believe. This is all it does in the way of supporting the Church. There are a few States in which the legislatures pay salaries to chaplains of the prisons which they have caused to be built, in order to reform convicts. The Government places all men on the

same footing as to the rights of conscience and of public and private worship, and protects them in those rights.

2. The statements which we have made, after a very careful examination of the facts on which they rest, demonstrate, we think, the vast resources of Christianity when left to itself, and where men are protected in their rights. We have said that the receipts of the religious societies in the United States were at least 3,053,576 dols. The salaries of 28,270 ministers of the Gospel in the Evangelical Churches, which we put on an average of 500 dols.,* inclusive of perquisites and presents, make a sum of 14,135,000 dols. The two sums make 17,188,576 dols. If to this we add the wages of sextons, salaries of choirs, the sums paid to "local ministers" and licentiates in many cases, and to superannuated ministers, the salaries of the professors in theological seminaries and other religious institutions, and, still further, the sums given annually to found or endow theological schools, etc., we shall find that the support of Evangelical religion in the United States costs but little, if anything, less than nineteen or twenty millions of dollars. Nor is this all. We are convinced that as many as 900, if not 1,000, places of worship are now built every year (including those which are built to replace old ones) by the Evangelical Churches. If these cost, on an average, the sum of 2,357 dols., the value given in the census, we must add the sum of 2,121,600 dols., or 2,357,000 dols., together with the expenses of repairing those which exist. This done, we shall find that the Evangelical Churches alone gave, we have reason to believe, last year, at the very least, the sum of 22,000,000 dols. for the sustentation of religion and religious institutions at home and abroad.

But justice requires that we should include what is done by the Non-Evangelical Churches, if we would understand the resources of our "Voluntary System" in America. By doing this, we arrive at the fact that the sum of 25,000,000 dols. was raised last year in the United States, for the promotion of religion. And in this statement we make no account of the sums received

* A distinguished clergyman from the United States, who has for many years been a member of the Executive Committee of one of the most important of our Societies for Home Missions, is confident that this figure is too low, and that I ought to put the average salaries (including all perquisites) at 550 dols., which would give 15,548,000 dols. as the aggregate. I think he is right, but prefer to be on sure ground.

by the Roman Catholics from the Society of the Propaganda, from the Leopold Society, and from other missionary societies in Europe belonging to their Church—sums which, some years, are fully equal to 250,000 dols.*

And after all that we have said on this topic, no one can have a just idea of the energies and resources of our voluntary system in the sustentation and extension of religious institutions, unless he will consider also what is done among us by associations and individuals, in every enterprise which in any way concerns the interests of Religion, or the interests of Humanity. Even in the founding and supporting of institutions in which the Government, whether General, or State, or Municipal, does lend a helping hand; such as those for the instruction or care of the unfortunate, among which we may mention the Asylums for the Blind, for the Deaf and Dumb, for the Idiotic, for the Insane—institutions which, for their number and excellence, we deem one of the glories of our land—a large portion of the means are furnished from private, and not public sources.

One great advantage results from all this, namely, that the management of these institutions and their funds is brought under the control of good men. This is a great point gained. In everything that in any way concerns religion, or may be made to subserve its interests, we desire the Government to do as little, and the people to do as much, as possible. Scarcely is an academy, or a female seminary, or a college built, or any such enterprise carried forward in any part of the country, to which our fellow-citizens, especially the Christian portion of them, do not largely contribute.

Thanks be to God, among our American population the sentiment is well-nigh universal, that Christian institutions—the Church, the Sabbath, the School—are indispensable for our temporal and material, as well as our spiritual and eternal, well-being. The influence of these sentiments, or convictions, rather, is finely shown in our new settlements, in advance often of the civil government, and nowhere more than in California. To that new State on the Pacific, seven years ago, there rushed a great number of men from all countries, attracted by the vast gold mines which it contains. The American element strongly

* The Roman Catholics are expending every year vast sums of money on the building of churches in our large cities. The money needed for this comes mainly from their poor adherents among us, although much is also received from abroad.

predominated. The number of religious people was very small at first; that of the wicked was overwhelming. Gradually, Christian institutions sprang up, and became more and more rooted in the soil; and within the last two years the country has assumed a new aspect. The theatre, the gaming-saloons, the drinking-saloons, and the brothel, have found a powerful antagonist in the house of God, the Sabbath-school, the temperance society. There are now more than 250,000 inhabitants in California, and there are more than 150 churches* and religious assemblies. Every denomination almost is there represented. The Episcopalians have even a bishop; the Methodists alone have twenty-five or thirty regular ministers, and twice as many local ministers. Boys' and girls' seminaries are established; a college has been chartered and opened, we believe. Two or three religious newspapers are published. San Francisco has 60,000 inhabitants, and Sacramento, Benicia, Stockton, and other towns, are very considerable places.

One sees the same interest, in all that concerns religion and education, in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, which lie north of California on the Pacific coast. Already, a goodly number of churches have been built in these scattered settlements, and the Episcopalians have a bishop there also.

If 25,000,000 dols., given last year by the Churches of America for the promotion of religion, be considered by any one to be a large sum, let him consider that the population of that country was not less than 26,500,000 that year; and let him also consider the great prosperity of the country, in all that concerns its material interests. Twenty-five millions of dollars were less, on an average, than one dollar for each individual. And although there are families which could not give as much as one dollar per individual, there are very many that could give far more. Even the four millions of members of the Evangelical Churches are of themselves abundantly able to give annually twenty-five millions of dollars to promote religion at home and abroad. Nay, if we were to subtract the 400,000 slaves and free people of colour, who are members of the Evangelical Churches, the remaining 3,600,000 members are fully able to

* I have been assured by friends who have been on the spot, that owners of gaming-houses and theatres, as well as other wicked men, at San Francisco, have been known to give liberally to build churches and sustain Sabbath-schools, from the avowed belief that they were necessary to the prosperity of the city.

sustain this burden, if we may apply the word to what is really no burden at all. But why subtract the slaves and free people of colour who are members of the Churches? There are not many slaves with us who have no money to give. And they do give, and liberally too, to good objects. I have known them to make collections in their churches which might make many a church of white people ashamed.

But we are not under the necessity of limiting the support of religious institutions in the United States to those who are members of the Churches. Blessed be God, it is one of the advantages of our economy, so far as this subject is concerned, that it makes thousands and hundreds of thousands of our citizens take an active interest in upholding these institutions, from motives of benevolence, and from a conviction of their importance to the best interests of the country, as well as to the happiness of every individual. This is a great matter, and its influence is immense. The fact that our people build and own their places of worship, and support the pastors, and maintain at their own charges all that relates to religion, contributes greatly to make them take a deep interest in religious matters, and encourages and conduces to proper feeling on the subject of religion, as a personal concern.

After all, we have no hesitation in saying, that what is doing in the United States, *spontaneously*, if the word may be allowed, on the part of the people, to sustain religion, is to be viewed merely as a beginning. It is almost nothing at all when compared with the means and resources of the country. It is almost nothing in comparison with what we believe the Churches in that land will do when that day comes in which the "Spirit shall be poured out from on high." Most certainly the history of the Churches of the United States, for the last fifty or sixty years, demonstrates that Christianity has nothing to fear when it ceases to have the arm of Cæsar on which to rely. The hearts of Christ's people constitute, under His Divine blessing, its best, its surest support.

3. Evangelical Doctrines in our Churches.—When we speak of the great bulk of the Churches in America being Evangelical, we simply mean that they teach the doctrines of the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, of the Apostles, and of the Saviour himself; the sum of which is, that there is salvation only through faith in Jesus Christ, as the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world." We mean, that all such

Churches will give to him who asks the question, *What must I do to be saved?* the same *Evangelical* answer, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.* On the fundamental doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH (involving the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, the Trinity, the Fall of Man, etc.), there is but one opinion. It is true that there are some sections of the great Evangelical body of Christians with us which make too much of forms of Church government, of modes of worship, and of rites and ceremonies, and so become, in a sense, *Puseyites*, if I may employ the word. But even these, with few exceptions, hold to the merits of Christ as the sole ground of salvation. What may unquestionably be asserted is, that the confessions of faith and other symbols of doctrine, of all these Churches, are Evangelical and sound.

4. We have spoken of the resources of Christianity, and of the progress of the truth in the United States; it may not be amiss to say something of the resources of error, quite as manifold in its developments as the truth, and of its progress, if progress it is making.

And, first, I would say that Unitarianism does not increase relatively to the orthodox communions. It is losing ground rather. It had, in 1850, but 248 churches, mostly in Massachusetts. It has a large amount of social and literary influence, because of the wealth and social position of those who profess it. It is certainly true that the influence of this small but powerful body is far better, with the exception of such men as Theodore Parker, than any other of the non-evangelical portion of our population. Its followers, also, are accessible to the truth, because they possess cultivated and liberal minds. We incline to the opinion that many of the more serious of the Unitarians will return to the orthodox faith, whilst very many of the rest will go into open Infidelity.

The Universalists are far more numerous than the Unitarians, but they have less order, and consequently less permanence. Where their churches exist, their assemblies are largely composed of those who, in other localities, would perhaps go nowhere. Not a few of them are, from time to time, brought to the knowledge of the truth by the labours of able and faithful ministers in their vicinity.

As to Infidelity, I am convinced that there is far less of it among our American population, especially in the Middle and

Southern States, than there was fifty or sixty years ago. In New England, and in the portions of the West settled from New England, there is a considerable amount of a subtile Infidelity, the legitimate fruit of Universalism and Unitarianism, on the one hand, and of a certain fanaticism, on the other, which leads men to reject Christianity, because the Bible and the Churches will not speak as they think they should do on temperance, on slavery, on other topics of a kindred category. Such men, for the most part, deceive themselves. The reasons which they assign are not the causes of their infidelity, but the pretexts for avowing it. Among that portion of the German population which has most recently arrived, and which is to be found mainly in the middle tier of States, from the East to the "Far West," there is a good deal of Infidelity, often of a low and vulgar character, imported from the fatherland, and blended, in many cases, with Socialism and something kindred to Red Republicanism. We find it difficult to reach this species of Infidelity, for want of the right men. If it should please God to resuscitate extensively the truth in Germany, it would be a great blessing for us in this respect. In the meanwhile we are trying to raise up the right men in the German colleges and theological seminaries among us, of which there are some ten or twelve.

But of all forms of error, Romanism is by far the most formidable, because of the number of its adherents, the organization, wealth, influence, and worldly and unscrupulous policy of its hierarchy. That Romanism is increasing in the United States cannot be denied; but that increase is not from conversion, but from the natural increase of the population, on the one hand, and from the immigration of Roman Catholics from Europe, on the other. We have elsewhere stated that the Roman Catholic population may be reckoned at 3,000,000 or 3,250,000; but nothing very definite can be asserted; for high authorities among the Romanists with us vary in their estimates from two to four millions. Although Archbishop Hughes and some of the other members of the hierarchy often boast of the progress of their Church in the United States, it is well known that some others of that hierarchy make very remarkable admissions when writing to their friends in Ireland—admissions which they have not had the prudence to conceal. These admissions are to the effect that large numbers of the young men, especially in the

great cities and in the rural districts, are quitting the Church of their fathers, sometimes to embrace Protestantism, and still oftener, at least for a time, to fall into Infidelity. There is a vast amount of truth in all this. Father Mullen, an Irish priest, who visited the country extensively three or four years ago, believed and published that this awful "falling away," as he termed it, had cost Rome the loss of two millions of her children. What he meant is, that Rome now has two millions less of followers in the United States than she would have had if this declension did not exist. But this is an over-estimate. Still there can be no doubt that her loss has been immense from this source. The freedom of the press in the United States, the freedom of speech, the constant contact with Protestants to which young Romanists are exposed, the manifest superiority of the Protestant population in intelligence, enterprise, wealth, and general influence, all conspire to make Roman Catholic young men inquire into the nature and claims of the two systems; and inquiry leads to great results. The Infidelity into which they often fall is not likely to be lasting where favourable opportunities exist for learning the truth. Thanks be to God, much is now doing by the Protestants, in a kindly way, to cause the truth to reach the minds of their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens.

Two or three things have occurred to arouse the American people in relation to Rome and her movements. 1. The simultaneous efforts which have been of late made by her hierarchy in many of the States to obtain a portion of the funds destined to the support of public schools, for the support of their own sectarian schools, in which neither the Sacred Scriptures, nor any portions of them, are read, but avowedly sectarian instruction is given; and this, not so much for the benefit of their own children, as to prosecute effectually the work of proselyting the children of Protestants. This movement has been most signally defeated in all quarters, except in the State of California; and that exception will not long exist, we firmly believe.* 2. The efforts making by the hierarchy to bring all the property of the Roman Catholic Church—church edifices especially, priests' houses, cemeteries, schools, colleges, hospitals, etc., into the possession of the bishops. It is but a few years since this movement, in which Archbishop Hughes

* Since this Report was written, we have been informed that the Legislature of California has repealed the school law in question.

has been very prominent, commenced; and already some of their bishops are possessors of an immense amount of property. But this movement has awakened a vast and triumphant opposition; and already several States have enacted laws which require that all church property shall be held by lay-trustees appointed by each congregation, and accountable to them for the proper use of it; the great States of New York and Pennsylvania taking the lead. This is a most important step; and we cannot doubt that similar laws will be enacted in all our States. 3. The disposition, long well known, of some of the leaders of the two great political parties, Whigs and Democrats, to court the Romanists for their votes at the elections, and the willingness of the hierarchy to be regarded as a "great power in the State," and as, in fact, holding the "balance of power," as has been often said; this obsequious meanness, on the one hand, and unbounded arrogance, on the other, has led to the formation of a political party called the "American Party," and more commonly "Know-Nothings," which has, for the time being, exerted a powerful influence on our political institutions. All this has been eminently injurious to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church among us.

There is another development of error, or rather of desperate wickedness, in the United States, about which we must say a few words; without, however, wishing to degrade the religious bodies just spoken of by the juxta-position: it is Mormonism. It would seem as if God has permitted this gross and even monstrous manifestation of error in doctrine, and of corruption in manners, to occur in the United States, and in this nineteenth century, to demonstrate the innate and shocking depravity of the human heart, which in all ages, and in all countries, has only needed a suitable opportunity for its development, in order to show what it can do. As to Mormonism, it is the deliberate invention of ambitious and corrupt men, of a certain amount of capacity, who resolved to form a community in which their vile passions might have, in time (for they had too much sense to let the world know the whole scheme at the outset), full scope, and their love of power be gratified in governing at their will their ignorant dupes. To do this, they invented a species of hybrid Mohammedanism, if we may so call it, which only needs circumcision to make it a very good counterfeit of the religion of the Arabian Impostor. Driven by popular violence from Missouri, where

they made their first attempt to found a community, Joseph Smith and his associates took up their abode in Illinois. After some years, on account of the hatred and opposition which their vices had created among their neighbours, they were compelled to emigrate to what is now called the Territory of Utah, a country several hundred miles to the west of the most western settlements in the Valley of the Mississippi. There the main body of them now are, under leaders whom Smith had trained up; he himself not having been permitted to see their "Land of Canaan," for he was murdered in Illinois, by men whom his wickedness had provoked to that act of lawless violence.

Unfortunately for the ambitious schemes of these men, they had not long been established at Salt Lake, in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, before the Government of the United States obtained possession of California; and now our population is advancing towards them from the west as well as from the east. It is probable that one of the railroads which must, before many years pass away, unite the Pacific coast to the Valley of the Mississippi, will pass through Utah and its capital. Everything is conspiring to defeat the nefarious projects of these people. And now that their abominable doctrines and practices have become well known, at least in the United States, not only does the recruitment of their ranks from our American people diminish rapidly, but it is certain that there will be but little sympathy felt for them if they should be made to feel the strong arm of the Government of the United States the moment they attempt to establish their own independence, a consummation for which they have for years been labouring. It is probable that their own corrupt doctrines and conduct, however, will lead to the explosion of their scheme. The Government of the United States has wisely abstained from using physical force to suppress them; for, until now, this would have created sympathy for them and augmented their numbers. But the time for sympathy is passed away. Should the community continue to exist till the day comes for the admission of Utah into the Confederation as a State, there will be a decisive crisis; for it cannot for a moment be believed that it will be received so long as polygamy is not only allowed, but sustained by the sanctions of a pretended revelation from heaven. For a long time the leaders held out the idea to the more serious followers, that the Book of Mormon was only a supplement to the Christian Scriptures; to the poor,

especially in the Old World, they offered great temporal advantages. But now that the true character of the whole execrable scheme is becoming well known, we have reason to hope that the evil has reached its apogee, and that the destruction of the community will, before very many years pass away, be effected by moral influences. I am not able to state the number of Mormons, including a small community on an island appertaining to the State of Michigan; but I do not think it can exceed 60,000. Every year some people are leaving them, and many more would, it is believed, if they could. This difficulty will grow less, however, as our population approaches them from the east and the west.

5. Religious Destitution.—There is no subject on which so much is said in Europe, and which is so little understood, as the apparent, and in many respects real, destitution of the means of grace in the United States. When Europeans read, as they may do in this Report, that there are 1,100 Presbyterian churches or congregations more than the number of pastors, and similar statements, and even worse, in regard to some other denominations, especially the Baptists, the Lutherans, and the German Reformed, they will probably come to the conclusion that our "voluntary system" utterly fails to meet the demands of the country. They do not stop to think, that this surplus of congregations beyond the number of pastors does not prove that they are destitute of the means of grace or ministerial labours. It often happens that one minister preaches to two churches in the rural districts, and sometimes to three or four, especially in the new settlements. I have known German ministers who preached to five or six. This is, of course, only temporary in many cases. As the population increases, the number of ministers becomes greater in proportion to the number of the congregations. It would be a sad mistake to suppose that there are 1,100 Presbyterian churches destitute of the preaching of the Gospel. There is, probably, not one of them that does not hear the Gospel with more or less frequency. There are cases where one minister will, for a long time, serve two or more neighbouring churches. That there are many new congregations which have no pastors is certainly true, for the simple reason that congregations will be formed, and, generally, church edifices of some sort or other will be built, before a minister is called to take the pastoral charge, or even to preach regularly. This is our way of doing

things, and it would be hard to devise any other or better. In no part of the world are churches built *in advance* of the population. We go pretty fast in America, but we cannot *go a-head*" quite so fast as to build churches in the forests, or in places to which the suburbs of our cities and towns are destined to extend. But let there be some population, and soon there will be measures taken by the people themselves, or by the Missionary Societies among us, not only to have places of worship constructed, but also to find ministers of the Gospel to preach in them. So long as our population increases at the astounding rate that it now does, so long we shall have an immense work to do, in providing places of worship and religious instruction. I do not hesitate to affirm that 900 or 1,000 church edifices are every year built in the United States; and the home missionary organizations are supporting, or aiding in the support of, between three and four thousand ministers. Can the world show anything more conclusive, as to the inherent and all-powerful energy of Christianity when it has free scope for action?

As to need of ministers among us, what I have just said will explain the reasons why it must be so. But they deceive themselves who suppose that the supply is not likely to correspond, in a good measure, to the demand. Yet this requires loud and earnest appeal, unremitting effort, and never-ceasing prayer.

6. The Observance of the Sabbath.—There is no subject on which American Christians are more happily united than that of the importance of a proper observance of the Sabbath. And although there is no sort of union between the Church and the State, excepting what is wholly of a moral nature, yet every State in the Union has made laws in favour of a proper observance of the Lord's-day, or Christian Sabbath; and this, because our whole economy proceeds on the principle that the country is a Christian country; and, therefore, Christianity has been pronounced by our courts to be "part and parcel of the laws of the land." And though the laws which denounce punishment for Sabbath-breaking are not executed anywhere in the United States with rigour, yet so generally are the people impressed with the duty of observing the Sabbath, that it is seldom any one sees such violations of it as interfere with the public or private services of religion. It is universally believed with us, that man needs the rest of one day in seven, for the benefit of his physical nature, to say nothing of his spiritual wellbeing.

Even the beasts of labour need a Sabbath. It is, in a sense, according to the light of Nature that there should be a Sabbath; and that Government which does not secure the Sabbath for the labouring man does not do what it should to shield the poor from the exactions of the rich. A great deal is doing in the United States by the press, as well as by the pulpit, to enlighten the nation—the rulers, as well as the ruled—in relation to this great subject. Associations exist to promote the proper observance of the Sabbath; nor are their labours in vain. The contrast is wonderful between the noise and bustle of the other days of the week and the quiet calm of the Sabbath—between the confusion and din, and hurrying of the crowds to and fro in the streets on other days, and the peaceful movement of so many well-dressed and serious though cheerful people, on their way to or from the House of God, twice or thrice every Sabbath. I believe that I utter the language of every American Christian, when I say, "Woe to America when it ceases to be a Sabbath-respecting land!"

7. Our Religious Liberty.—And here, perhaps, it may not be improper that I should say a few things on the subject of Religious Liberty in the United States. The position which we maintain is simply this: The Government should protect all in the enjoyment of their rights of conscience and of worship. And this is fully done. It is impossible, it seems to me, to conceive of a state of things more favourable in this respect than that which exists among us. The rights of citizenship, the rights appertaining to a man's standing in civil society, are with us in no way dependent on the faith which he professes. Let him be a Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jew, believer or unbeliever, this fact has no bearing on his civil, political, or religious rights. Accordingly, we see Protestants of all shades of doctrine, Roman Catholics, and even Jews, and sometimes men of no fixed religious opinions at all, holding offices under the General, State, and Municipal Governments. Sometimes, but not often, a man who is a sceptic, or an avowed unbeliever, may be found holding a civil office. Mr. Pierce, the President of the United States, is a Protestant; Mr. Taney, the Chief Justice, is a Roman Catholic. In the Congress there is at this time one Jew, if not more. As the Protestants form the vast majority of the population, the majority of Protestants in the Government is great, as might be expected; but this affects neither the principle nor the action of the Government.

As to the right to worship God according to every man's conscientious convictions, or even preferences, arising from education or other circumstances, it is enjoyed by every one. Even the humblest slave in the land possesses this right. Whilst the master and his family go to an Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or any other church, his servants or slaves, and the poorest hired man on his plantation, whether black or white, may go to the same church, if they choose, or to a Methodist or Baptist Church. And this right they not only possess, but exercise. It is lawful to purchase ground and build a church, or meeting-house, or chapel, or whatever we may call it, anywhere and at any time, without asking authorisation from any government whatever—be it the General Government, a State Government, or the government of a city, borough, or township. All that is necessary is, to comply with the laws regulating the purchase and tenure of such property, which are as simple and reasonable as any one ought to desire. And so, too, religious meetings may be held in private houses, and are so held all over the United States. The Government is bound to protect such meetings; and *there* its functions cease, so far as religion is concerned.

And who are the men that compose our Government? They are our fellow-citizens holding office for short terms, excepting generally, though not always, in the judiciary. They form no *caste*, so unapproachable that we cannot confer with them save in the most formal and ceremonious manner. They are our friends and neighbours; they and their families frequent our churches, as other men; they are members of our congregations, and many of them are members of our churches. Not a few of them are active in our religious societies. There are, in our National Congress, and the Legislatures of our thirty-one States and seven Territories, not far from 5,000 members; among them, there are many teachers and superintendents of Sabbath-schools. The same thing is true of our judges and of the officers of our municipal governments. These men are in posts of authority and influence for a few years, and then return to private life. They are of the people, and move among the people, even while holding office; nor are there many of them who are without the pale of a kind Christian influence, which reaches them from some quarter or other.

Such is the position of things with us; nor can we be too thankful for it. The Government and the Church are mutual

friends; neither is the slave of the other. The Church simply asks for protection of the rights of conscience and of public worship, and this she receives in the amplest manner. And what does the State receive in turn? It receives the immense moral influence of the Church—of the preaching of the Gospel, at so many thousands and tens of thousands of points, all over the land—of the Sabbath-school—of the Bible-class, and all the other influences of Christianity. It is in these that the laws find their surest basis and their most effective sanction. It is just because of these influences—the Sabbath, the Church, the Bible—that a vast country of more than 27,000,000 of people can be governed, and is governed, without the bayonet and the cannon.

8. The Temperance Cause.—This cause makes, on the whole, steady progress with us. It is entering now a most important phase—that of invoking the suppression, by law, of the manufacture and the sale of all intoxicating drinks. Such legislation is difficult, and will always require time to perfect it. Thirteen States have passed such laws; and we must say that where the experiment has been fairly made, it has worked well. But a few years will enable us to speak more definitely and fully to the world on this point. It is a cheering fact that the quantity of intoxicating liquor consumed in the United States in 1850 was but little more than half as much as it was in 1825, when the population was not more than half as great.

9. Young Men's Christian Associations.—No movement in the United States, within the last ten years, has been more full of hope than the formation of *Young Men's Christian Associations*. They are springing up in our great cities, from Boston to New Orleans, and from New York to San Francisco. It may be that they are to be the medium, in connexion with similar associations in Europe, of forming a truly Evangelical Alliance between the Churches of the two hemispheres.

THE INDIANS.—THE AFRICANS.—IMMIGRATION.

10. There is a triple subject still remaining on which I wish to say a few words, for it is one of great importance. It is the relations and duties of Christianity to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country—to the African race, brought to our shores at first mainly by the cupidity of citizens of the Old World—and to the European masses, which for the last few years have almost threatened to inundate the land.

THE INDIAN RACES.—When the country now called the United States was discovered, it was in the occupancy of many tribes of Indians, some of them small and some of them large, who seem to have in a certain sense divided it among themselves. Their miserable manner of life, their dreadful wars with each other, and fearful epidemic diseases, were certainly wasting them away. As the colonisation of the country went on, the Indians, for the most part, retired northward and westward. Wars with the colonists helped to diminish some of the tribes, and broke the strength of others. Something was done in the seventeenth century by Elliot and the Mayhews, and in the eighteenth by Brainerd and by the Moravian brethren, Zeisberger and others, for the conversion of the Indians; and not without success. But the barbarities of Indian warfare tended to harden the heart, and the low state of religion in the colonies contributed for a long time to make the Church forget her duty towards these "children of the wood." But with the resuscitation of religion, which commenced in the last years of the last century and the beginning of the present, a better feeling began to spring up, and the work of spreading the Gospel and civilisation among the Indians was renewed under better auspices in 1816—18, and has gone on steadily ever since, among some of the important tribes which once resided in what are now the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, as well as among smaller tribes in the States of New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. Some twenty-five years ago, the United States adopted the plan of buying out the claims of all the tribes living east of the river Mississippi, and removing the people to a territory west of the State of Arkansas, which lies beyond the claims of any State, whether those claims originated from the old charters granted to the colonies by the Kings of England, or from promises made, perhaps without due consideration, by the General Government, to certain State Governments, and especially that of Georgia. This plan has been carried into almost complete effect. And whatever there may have been that was hard and even harsh in the manner of its execution, it must be confessed that the present state of those tribes is far better than it was before their removal. The important tribes which bear the names of Cherokees, 25,000 in number; Choctaws, 25,000; and Creeks, 20,000; together with Chickasaws, 7,000; and Seminoles, 3,000; in all, 80,000, are now living on this "Indian Territory," as it is called, and are making

steady and even rapid progress in the useful arts. They have many schools and several academies, supported by the large annual sums which they receive from the United States' Government. The Scriptures are translated into their languages, and several other books. They have their own newspapers, many churches, several missionaries, and quite a number of native ministers of the Gospel. They are now, in fact, a civilised people, and the day is coming when this Indian Territory will become a State and a member of our American Union.

Including several smaller tribes, the entire number of members of Evangelical Churches—Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Moravian—among the Indians, is nearly 10,000. The tribes which we have just mentioned are so far advanced in civilisation, that they are, in fact, increasing, instead of diminishing.

The number of Indians within the limits of the United States is estimated by the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs at 400,764, of whom 123,000 are west of the Rocky Mountains. It is probable that, as the work of civilisation and Christianisation goes on among the Sioux, Omahas, Sacs, Iowas, Otoes, Blackfeet, and other tribes in the upper valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri, another Indian Territory will be formed in that direction. Nothing but Christianity can save the tribes which remain. The experiment now making in the Territory occupied by the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, demonstrates that it, under favourable circumstances, can secure this great object. The work that is going on in the "Indian Territory" is full of promise; nor is it possible to conceive of anything more interesting.*

* The last Report of the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church contains the following important statement respecting these people: "All of these tribes have made considerable progress in civilisation. Most of them live on farms that are cultivated and well-stocked with domestic animals. They are as much in advance of the smaller tribes scattered over the North and North-West, in point of education, general intelligence, sober and industrious habits, and all the arts of civilised life, as they are in point of population.

"For a short period after their removal to their present location, they were greatly dispirited; and there were other evidences of retrogression, that occasioned no little anxiety to those who were labouring to promote their general welfare. But, of late years, there has been a decided change for the better. The climate has proved to be healthy. The soil yields more abundantly than the lands they formerly occupied on the opposite side of the Mississippi. The rich prairies enable them to raise almost any quantity of live stock, and their advantages of education for their children are even greater than they formerly were."

Much has been said respecting the fading away of the aborigines of the United States before the march of the Anglo-American population; and much that is true. And yet there is good reason to believe that the Indian population, within the limits of that country at this day, is probably as great as it ever was. The number of Indians east of the Alleghany Mountains was greatly over-estimated by the first colonists. They were not increasing, but diminishing, through diseases and wars, when the colonists came. The most important northern nations retired in large numbers to Canada; and the south-western, the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, etc., are as numerous now as they ever were, and some of them more so. Some small tribes, in New England and the Middle States, have become extinct, or nearly so; in some cases by becoming fused with larger tribes.

The African Race.—We shall not enter into the domain of politics, nor even into that of controversy, in anything which we propose to say on this subject; our object is, to show what Christianity has done for the children of Africa, who were thrown upon our shores in our colonial days—England, France, Holland, and Spain furnishing their respective but very unequal contingents. These half-naked "savages," it seems to have been thought, would be benefited by being torn from their native shores, and brought to a civilised and Christian land, even should they be reduced to perpetual servitude. They were regarded just as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country were, as barbarous heathen—very much as the Jews regarded the Canaanites, whom the Almighty allowed them to destroy or to reduce to bondage. For a long time, no laws were made for them in some of the colonies—in fact, the laws seemed not to recognise even their existence. But what did Christianity do for them, even in the portions of the country where there was the least amount of true religion? It took them up from their degradation; gave them the manners of civilised life in a good measure; made their masters, especially believing masters, to treat them with kindness; gave them one day of rest in seven; made many of them savingly acquainted with the way of life; and secured to them manifold more blessings, hard as the lot of many may have been, than they could have enjoyed in Africa. Still more, whilst Christianity said to them, "If you can obtain your freedom, avail yourselves of it," it also said to their masters, "If circumstances allow you to liberate these people in such a

way as to secure their true and best welfare, it is your duty, in obedience to the law of Christian kindness, to let them go free." And was this influence of Christianity in vain? Whence, then, came the 54,333 of free people of colour that were in Virginia in the year 1850? or the 74,723 in Maryland? Whence came the 230,424 that lived in the slaveholding States in that year? These people, or their ancestors, obtained their freedom through the influence of the Gospel on the hearts of their former masters. And so, directly or indirectly, did the 204,484 who were to be found in the Free States. There are half a million of free coloured people in the United States to-day, who owe their freedom to the influences of Christianity. And, in my humble judgment, if ever the three millions and a half still in bondage obtain their freedom in a peaceful manner, whether to go to Africa and carry civilisation and true religion there, or to remain at home, the most effectual course to reach this great end will be, to augment the influences of the Gospel in the States where they are found, as greatly and as rapidly as possible. I am sorry to say, that this is about the last course which some men among us think of pursuing, and yet they deem themselves Christians.

It would not be difficult to show that, discouraging as some things are in relation to this most important subject, there are, on the other hand, many that are highly encouraging. One of which is, that in no State is any slave forbidden by law to buy a Bible, or receive it as a gift; and if he can read it, he may do so to his heart's content; and if he cannot read it, he may hear it read; and in the ten States where it is not allowed to teach the slaves in schools, there is no law to forbid the masters or members of their families to teach them privately, or to impart the knowledge of the Word of God, orally, to them in large numbers. Above all, in no State in the American Union is it forbidden by law to preach the Gospel to any man, whether he be bond or free. Shall we say, then, that nothing can be done, and sit down in despair, even although the only men who have control over this question are the very men who are most interested in upholding the system?

On the other hand, the anti-slavery feeling of the Northern or Free States (which now form the majority, whereas, at the outset, all of the thirteen original States were slaveholding States) has become exceedingly intense; and whilst there is no

intention to interfere with the subject in portions of the country where, according to the Constitution, the North has no power to act, yet there is a strong determination not to allow slavery to be extended beyond its present limits. On this subject the excitement threatens to be productive of most serious consequences. Great wisdom will be requisite to carry the country safely through the difficulties which surround this great question. Our trust must be in God, that with patience and prudence, slavery will be done away in time, in a way consistent with the best interests of all concerned.

But that the infinite God had great ends in view in permitting a portion of the African race to be brought to the United States, there to be civilised and made acquainted with the Gospel, even through the hard pathway of bondage, cannot be doubted by any Christian man. And now that it is becoming so easy to transfer mankind in masses, if we may so speak, from one continent to another, as we see doing every year, who will venture to say that the day is very distant when a great number of colonies of civilised coloured men from America will be seen along the Western Coast of Africa, that will carry the blessings of Christianity and civilisation into the heart of that great continent? A good beginning has been made in Liberia; nor do we believe that this world presents a more interesting and important enterprise than the colonisation of Africa which has there been commenced.*

The Immigration from the Old World.—In the year 1850, there were living in the United States 2,244,648 persons who were born in foreign lands. From the 1st of January of the same year, to the 1st of January, 1855, there came to the United States, mostly from Ireland and Germany, about 2,000,000 of people. Last year, 1854, this immigration exceeded 460,000. In this year, 1855, the falling off is very great, especially so far as Ireland is concerned.

That many worthy people come every year to our shores, no one will deny; but it is equally certain that a great number of people who are both ignorant and debased come, whom the in-

* Several years ago, the late Dr. Philip, of the Cape of Good Hope, Superintendent of the Missions of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, expressed himself in the strongest terms in favour of this great and good work, in a letter to the students in the Theological Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey, which was published at the time in America. It ought to be published in Europe, for it places this subject in its true light.

stitutions and religion of Europe have failed to make what they should be; and they are sent to us by the Saviour, that the influences of ours may be tried upon them. German infidelity, and German neology and rationalism, give us much trouble; whilst the poor Irish, whatever else they may be, are not infidels. If they have not true religion, they have at least some religiosity.

The arrogance of some of this foreign population, demanding sometimes important changes in our laws relating to the social economy of the country and its religious institutions, is both astonishing and disgusting. It was this arrogance, on the one hand, and the conduct of our demagogues in courting the foreign vote, especially through the influence of the Romish hierarchy, that led to the formation of the party that bear the soubriquet of "Know-Nothings." This party is emphatically Protestant. Their aim is to have the naturalisation laws modified, so as to require a longer term for naturalisation, some wishing to have it extended to twenty-one years, instead of letting it remain as it is, which is only five years. This party is not in reality opposed to foreigners, as such; but it is opposed to Romanists for several reasons. One is, their subjection to a foreign Pontiff. Another, their subserviency to their hierarchy. Such a party cannot last long; but the rising up of the people to break down the influence of the old political parties, whenever it becomes dangerous, and to rebuke the presumption of Rome amidst us, is a very significant fact, and shows what can be done to defeat the schemes of ambitious and unscrupulous demagogues, whether ecclesiastical or political, when necessary. In this sense the movement cannot but be salutary. It will lead to far greater vigilance in regard to Rome and her movements, so far as the United States are concerned.*

* It would be within the bounds of truth to say that very nearly, if not quite two-thirds of the crime, of the poverty, and of the riots and disturbances in the United States, come from the foreign portion of the population. And yet it not unfrequently happens that we are reproached for these things by men who reside in the very countries from which the worthless foreign population comes that occasions our difficulties. The greatest favour which we have to ask at the hands of European friends and enemies is, that they would make their own people what they should be before they send them to us, and then they may reproach us as much as they please for the evils which may still exist among us.

There is another great injury which we suffer from the foreign element among us; it is, that even those who become wealthy, with some honourable exceptions, do but little to aid us in the great religious enterprises which must be carried on. The

CONCLUSION.

Such, gentlemen, is the statement of facts which I have supposed would be interesting and encouraging to you, respecting the position and prospects of the American Churches. It is but a general survey of a vast field of battle, if I may so say, on which truth is in conflict with error—light with darkness—in all directions. And although we are confident that truth will triumph over error, and that the light will put to flight the darkness, yet the struggle will be long and severe, and attended with many alternations.

If the occasion had permitted, I would have descended into details, to show how the formation of a little Sabbath-school, in the suburb of a city (in a private house at first, it may be), often leads, step by step, to the formation of a little congregation and church; a small building is erected, to serve first as a place for preaching as well as for holding the Sabbath-school. At length a church edifice is erected by the side of the humble school-house, or replaces it altogether. The same beautiful process goes on in the rural districts, even the most distant. It pleases God to cause two or three persons in the same neighbourhood to become acquainted with His Gospel, or brings them together from different parts of the country. They commence a little meeting for reading the Word of God and prayer. They may have different views on some points of doctrine and ecclesiastical order, but these points are held in abeyance. In process of time a house is built for a place of occasional worship, and after a while, as the population increases and the means of the people increase, churches are formed according to the preferences and desires of the people. This operation is going on constantly in hundreds of places, and the effect is most interesting and beautiful. It may be that there will be some inconveniences, some friction at times (such is the imperfection of men), but in the long run, this freedom of action and this self-reliance work well, and order and activity arise out of what might at first seem to be chaos. But we cannot extend these remarks.

burden has to be borne by our American people. The religious people who come from Great Britain and Ireland—of whom the number, however, is not great—soonest become helpers in every good thing. The great bulk of the immigrants from the Old World, come from where they may, give us but little aid in our moral and religious enterprises. This is true even of the efforts which we have to make in behalf of the poor. I take pleasure, however, in repeating that there are noble exceptions to this general statement.

We cannot doubt, brethren of the Old World, that you take an interest in what is going on in the New. Be assured that we feel a deep interest in all that concerns the kingdom of Christ among you. It is our prayer to God that He would abundantly pour out His Spirit upon His Churches, of every name, and in every country throughout Europe. We cannot be forgetful of the lands from which our fathers came. Your trials, your successes, your hopes, your fears, we share. Your prosperity guarantees ours—indeed is, in some sense, essential to it. The kingdom of Christ can make no progress in these countries without affecting us in the most happy manner. On the other hand, the prosperity of that kingdom with us may be useful to you. May our Lord grant us grace to prosecute His blessed work with a good understanding, and in the spirit of mutual sympathy, and of forbearance, too, where forbearance may be necessary. Your great work is in the eastern hemisphere; ours lies manifestly in the western. And yet that work is one, and its relations are most intimate and important.

A number of us have come across the Atlantic to this great meeting, and some of us at no slight inconvenience. For myself (if I may be allowed a personal remark), this is the seventh visit I have made to Europe within the last twenty years, for the promotion of Christ's kingdom, as I humbly trust; and the interest which I feel in all that concerns that kingdom in the midst of you, is shared by thousands of Christians in America. They pray for you, and for the great work which is committed to your hands; and, if I might be allowed to serve as their organ, I would beg leave to say, without offence, that they would entreat, that they would even *conjure* you, Protestant Christians of France, of beautiful France—of England, whose influence is so great in the world—of Germany, so full of glorious associations—and of Italy, whose history has been so long and eventful—not to allow any little differences on subordinate points of doctrine and of worship, nor even any little collisions which will sometimes occur where there is any religious liberty at all, to separate you—to alienate you—to break the bands of Christian love. In our America, where we have no dominant Church, no Church favoured even by the State, but all are on the same footing, we have been made to know, by happy experience, that the Saviour is able to draw men to His Gospel by means of their preferences, and even their prejudices, arising

from education or other circumstances; and though these rivalries (not always as *holy* as they ought to be, owing to human infirmity) may be inconvenient at times, yet they will be found to be of less importance, in the long run, than we are apt at the moment to attribute to them. Even these can the Saviour overrule to the furtherance of the Gospel. Such, I am persuaded, would be the language of every Christian in America, be he Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, or Lutheran, if you could hear the voice of all our Christians. They know the benefit of fraternal feeling and kindly intercourse. Indeed, it is our happy state, in this respect, which constitutes one of the causes that contribute to render an Evangelical Alliance almost impracticable with us, for any length of time. It is hard to convince our people that it is needed for us. Still, whether we keep up a formal organization or not, the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance pervades us, and we shall be happy to extend to you the hand of fellowship across the ocean, and, from time to time, to express in person the interest which we feel in you, and in all that relates to the kingdom of our Lord among you. May He visit His churches in Europe, in America, and in all other parts of the world, with the abundant outpouring of His Spirit, and hasten the time when that kingdom, which consists in "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," shall fill the whole world! And to His blessed name shall be all honour and glory for ever and ever!

[After the reading of Dr. BAIRD's paper, which was considerably abridged in the process, the American brethren—twenty-one in number—were presented to the Conference. Rev. Dr. GRANDPIERRE, in French, and Rev. F. MONOD, in English, gave them a brotherly welcome.]

APPENDIX.

Whilst the preceding sheets were going through the press, I received a late number of the *Monthly Religious Magazine*, a Unitarian periodical, which is edited by the Rev. F. D. Huntingdon, of Boston. The following extracts from an editorial article will show that there is a party in the Unitarian body in America which is not to be confounded with Theodore Parker and his friends. It is to be hoped that this party will increase, until the whole body will be pervaded by the serious and conscientious spirit which characterises these extracts. It is a most encouraging fact that there is such a party, and that it contains men who have the courage to speak as Mr. Huntingdon does:—

Within the denomination known as Unitarian, there are those who accept Christianity as a dispensation of Divine grace, and not a development of human reason; as having for its specific and peculiar power a special, supernatural redemption from sin, in Christ Jesus, and not merely an unusual measure of natural wisdom or love. They believe in Christ as literally and verily "God manifest in the flesh," all power being given unto Him in heaven and on earth; as the eternally begotten Son of God, the mode of His oneness with the Father being a glorious and gracious mystery, transcending knowledge by the very conditions of the case; and as the ever-living present Head of the Church, and personal Intercessor for His disciples. They believe in the universality of the need of a spiritual renewal in human hearts, through repentance, forgiving grace, and the salvation in Christ. They believe that the cross of the Redeemer is the world's only hope; all everywhere who are saved being saved through the spiritual administration and headship of the Son of God over the entire race, consciously or unconsciously operating. They believe in prayer as a veritable asking and receiving from God, and not a self-stimulating and reactive process of man. In these respects, they probably differ from others of the same name, doctrinally. In many other points they agree.

These persons also earnestly desire a cordial fellowship with all, of every name, whose spirit and faith permit it. They suppose God has true servants in all religious households, and that other sects than the Unitarians have something to afford to the Church of the future. They take all honourable occasions, therefore, to cultivate these catholic sympathies, and to hold friendly intercourse with intelligent and earnest hearts of different denominations; their own deepest interest inclining them naturally to "Evangelical" associations, rather than the opposite. Ministers of this stamp would gladly exchange professional civilities with devout orthodox men, for the sake of the ends here indicated, and as being a simple act of Christian decency between disciples so agreed and related. They make full and unreserved use, not of technical terms, but of the rich scriptural phraseology which best conveys their doctrines. Sometimes it happens, and this also very naturally, that their preaching is liked by orthodox hearers; and these, finding in it an unexpected unction, and what seems the very truth of Christ, call it orthodox preaching. Such believers do not find themselves otherwise than happy, contented, and busy where they are, and,

having tasted of a deep peace, can say, "Would to God all were even as I am in this faith!" They are not moving consciously toward any particular denomination or creed, but only pray to come nearer and ever nearer to the Master, and to do their humble work faithfully under His eye, and to His acceptance.

What is the meaning of our boasted liberality? Is it that you may be as rationalistic as you please, and go clear; but if you happen to have "Evangelical" predilections, you must be assailed? Is it that we must be tolerant of scepticism, and the persecutors of orthodoxy? Is it that we must embrace those who deny the doctrines of redemption, regeneration, special and Divine answers to prayer, and the inspiration of the Scriptures, but denounce those who cling to them as the hope and joy of their souls? Does this vaunted charity look in only one direction, and that away from the cross of Christ? * * * The Unitarian denomination have lately, we believe, through some of their public men and journals, and recognition of pastors, given frequent signs of cordial favour to men, honest, no doubt, who have no belief in the Divine authority of revelation, in the infallibility and supernatural works of Jesus Christ, in the need of a radical renewing of the human heart, in the efficacy of prayer as bringing us direct help from God, beyond the effects wrought in the natural operations of the human mind, or in the personal presence of the Saviour in His Church. It only remains to cast off those who hold opposite convictions, to complete the severance of the denomination from historical Christianity and Evangelical religion.

FRENCH-SPEAKING NATIONS.

I.

FRANCE.

1.—ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF FRANCE.

BY THE REV. FRANCOIS FARJAT, WESLEYAN MINISTER, BASTIA, CORSICA.

2.—ON THE DIVINE MISSION OF FRANCE.

BY THE REV. W. MONOD, SUFFRAGAN PASTOR, ROUEN.

II.

BELGIUM.

ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF BELGIUM.

BY THE REV. E. PANCHAUD, BRUSSELS.

III.

SWITZERLAND.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN THE REFORMED CANTONS.

BY THE REV. E. GUDER, BERNE.

FRENCH-SPEAKING NATIONS.

FRANCE.

ITS RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

BY THE REV. FRANCOIS FARJAT,
WESLEYAN MINISTER, BASTIA, CORSICA.

August 28, *Morning.—Church of Redemption.*

In order to form a correct judgment of the state of religion among a people, they must be studied in the essential manifestations of their activity—that is to say, in their fine arts, their literature, their philosophy, and their worship. The soul of a people is displayed in these things; and, consequently, their most secret sentiments and thoughts are therein revealed.

Let us apply this principle to France, such as it has been for the last four years. Let us review our fine arts, our literature, our philosophy; the two forms of worship which dispute among us the empire of conscience;—examining these in their relation to true religion—that is, to the Gospel of Jesus Christ: and we shall learn what is the present religious state of our country.

I. What have our artists done, during the last four years, in a religious point of view? Have they been occupied with the great questions relating to God, to sin, to the salvation of man, to the Redeemer and His mission, to the eternal future, to the captivity of the human race in the chains of evil? Have they spoken to our mind, to our heart and our conscience, by placing before our eyes scenes of religious life? If they have not directly treated of these or similar subjects, have they, at least, introduced into their works something of this religious perfume—of this good odour of Christ which attracts souls? something, in a word, which would betray the existence of spiritual feelings in the artist, and the desire of communicating them to the crowd of amateurs?

Nothing of the kind has been visible to us. This order of ideas appears not only to have completely escaped them, but to be far removed from the habitual sphere of their engagements.

The influence of the fine arts, in the meantime, is immense! They have neither voice nor language, yet their sound is gone out through all the world. Who does not know the part they have played in the destinies of Polytheism, and in the development of the Romish superstitions? What eloquent discourses have issued from the canvas, the marble, and their mutual agreement? Who can say how many lives of men and women have been fashioned or modified by these powerful yet silent orators? How various are the passions which have been, and still are, kindled every day by contact with these images and harmonies! Doubtless great things might be effected by the fine arts, were they only truly religious; but, alas! we are far, very far from this. Engrossed by our earthly and worldly occupations, how can the influence of the fine arts be otherwise than earthly, carnal, and worldly?*

II. In the second place, what have been, during the period of which we are speaking, the engagements and the tendencies of our various public writers? Have they endeavoured to mark more forcibly the profound distinction which the law of God establishes between good and evil? Have they endeavoured to make the Divine voice more distinctly heard, which speaks in our consciences? Have they made us feel that man, such as he is, can be happy neither in this world nor in another; and that, consequently, he ought without delay to apply himself to the work of renewing his heart? Have our poets undertaken to celebrate the advent of Jesus Christ, and the marvels of regeneration effected by Him in those that believe? Have our historians laboured to show us that people are happy and upright only under the empire of Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords; and that every nation which does not lovingly receive Him is destined to an incessant recurrence of revolutions? Have our journals endeavoured to point out to us the relation of succeeding events with the judgments of God? Have any of them directed attention to the progress of evil amongst us, and the

* The reporter might have mentioned some fine religious compositions of our painters, such as "The Temptation of our Lord," by M. Ary Schæffer; an admirable work, to which, it is said, the artist devoted many years of toil.—[FRENCH ED.]

ramifications of our corruption, and shown us any true remedy which will heal the wounds of our people?

No! the occupation of the majority of our literary men is of another kind. They have established themselves in the sphere of the pursuits of this present life, of terrestrial and passing enjoyments, of political or social revolutions, of intrigues and scandals of all kinds. That which has occupied, pre-occupied, and absorbed them, is the present, past, or future of this world—the world as it is—the world as sin has made it; for to them the human race appears to have no other destiny than that which is accomplished in the limits of time.

III. Let us pass to philosophy. The point at which philosophy commences is the study of the human mind.

Has it endeavoured to present to French society, with a firm hand, and with that sovereign authority which philosophic light and certainty give, a solid exposition of the state of the soul and its wants? Has it sought to show us the origin of the evil which devours, consumes, and menaces us with eternal ruin? Has it endeavoured to direct us to that Almighty Redeemer who, eighteen centuries ago, was crucified and glorified, and who, with his pierced hand, has offered to successive generations that pardon which only He can give, and that peace which we vainly seek elsewhere? Has it earnestly applied itself to the grand Christian fact, in order to appreciate its value, and to present it to wearied souls who faint by the way, finding no place of rest? Has it awakened alarm in the bosom of an enervated society, dying of consumption, and which has no longer sufficient light or strength to ask for succour? Finally, has the Queen of knowledge felt our moral misery? Has she had compassion on us? Has she sought out a remedy for us, and put us in the way leading to eternal life?

Not at all. Philosophy has satisfied itself with acquainting us with our intellectual and moral faculties, with telling us that there is a God who recompenses those who act according to the laws of conscience; but it has left us without reply to that question which, nevertheless, is the question of questions: How can we obey the imperative demands of conscience, and obtain pardon for an overwhelming past?

At the same time we will not be unjust, and while affirming the emptiness of philosophy in a Christian and Evangelical point of view, we will not, like Catholicism, proscribe and anathematise

it. Contemporaneous philosophy has effected good, perhaps more good than we think. It has developed and defended spiritualism; it has strengthened the idea of a personal God, and of the immortality of the soul; of individual responsibility and duty; of the Divine omnipresence; of judgment and retribution to come. This result is doubtless very insufficient, but it is not to be despised.

IV. We arrive at Catholicism. What has been the attitude of Catholicism during the last four years? Has it been earnestly engaged with the infidelity which consumes our people under so many forms? Has it regarded with alarm those dense shadows which cover the country, and in the midst of which our unhappy citizens live and die? Has it sounded with terror that abyss of corruption which devours all our cities and overruns the country? Has it trembled at the sight of that pantheism and atheism, in theory and practice, which gain over so many distinguished men, which entwine themselves even among the masses, and tend to make our France truly a nation without God and without any hope of a life to come? Has it shaken with horror at the sight of a population which lives only for the flesh, and whose physical, moral, and intellectual forces seem completely absorbed by material questions, and of whom it may be said, as of the generation preceding the deluge, "They are but flesh." Deeply impressed by a state of things so deplorable, has it endeavoured to assemble the multitudes, and seat them under its shadow, in order to proclaim to them the Word of Jesus Christ and His Apostles, to convince them that they are wandering, and to lead them to Him "who taketh away the sin of the world?"

Not at all! It has done nothing but fulminate maledictions and anathemas against everything which opposes its symbols. It has proscribed the serious study of the inspired Word, combatted and secretly undermined religious liberty, reanimated three centuries of calumny and invective against the ancient and modern restorers of the mind of Jesus Christ; it has ridiculed and slandered Bible Societies and Protestant nations; it has directed the mind into superstitious beliefs; to the worship of images and old worm-eaten remains, to which they have pompously given the title of sacred relics; it has distributed or sold its miraculous medals, its protecting scapularies, and other remnants of fetishism; it has increased the pomp of its ceremonies, already so theatrical, by employing in them a greater

number of actors; finally, it has proclaimed the impious doctrine of the Immaculate Conception—the consequence of which is, to place the creature above the Creator; to suppress, for the advantage of a woman, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; thus Divinity will henceforth retire from its view, and Catholic Christianity will be placed among the aberrations of ancient Polytheism.

Such are its works; and it is so satisfied with them that it has sung victory! Yes, it has sung, and the universe has resounded with its rejoicings. But what is this song? The servants of God, those who behold the Most High, understand it. It is the last word of that ancient apostasy which already "had begun to work" in the times of St. Paul (2 Thes. ii.), and which consists in renouncing Christianity while keeping the name, and a few shreds without value and without life!

V. Let us now consider Protestantism. What has French Protestantism done for religion during the last four years? Has it been moved by the sin, ignorance, superstition, and spiritual apathy of our people? Has it trembled at the thought of the eternal consequences of our deep moral corruption? Has it, animated by love, thrown itself into the midst of the multitude, to proclaim to them the compassion of God and salvation by the Redeemer? Has it been its great object to bring the Gospel of Christ within the reach of all? Has it made sacrifices, to offer, if possible, to all our citizens, a copy of the holy Book, that none might be ignorant of the way of eternal life? Has it spoken and written for the enlightenment of those who walk in darkness and in the regions of the shadow of death? Has it prostrated itself before the Holy of Holies, beseeching for mercy, and for the outpouring of an abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit upon our people for their salvation? Has it prayed the Lord of the harvest to send us faithful ministers of His Word?

Yes, it has done all this*; and blessed be the Author of all grace, it is at this great and apostolic work that its literature, its orthodox journals, but, above all, the Evangelical institutions which it possesses, labour incessantly and with an activity increasing every day. The *National Church* preaches the Gospel with a growing fidelity in its temples and oratories; the *Central Society*, under the direction of the Consistories, or in concert

* In part.—French Editor.

with them, develops and spreads through all places the knowledge of the Saviour; the *Methodist Society*, having a peculiar organization possessing great power and independent forces, is engaged in a similar work; the *Evangelical Society* of France seems to undertake the same task as the Apostles, carrying the Gospel to those who had never heard of it before; the *Free Church*, founded on the principle of individual confession, tends to the formation of a people who, by their faithful conduct, glorify God with one mouth; the *Independent Churches*, that of Lyons in particular, think that they can labour more effectually in their Master's work in a voluntary manner; the *Sunday School Society* endeavours to multiply and encourage those little infantile assemblies which pastoral experience considers as the support of the future Church; the *Protestant Bible Society* takes for its mission the spreading of the Word of God exclusively among Protestant Churches; the *French and Foreign Bible Society* makes its limits commensurate with those of France; the *Religious Tract Society of Paris* distributes everywhere a multitude of small tracts, full of interest, and producing good fruits; and the *Society of Toulouse* has done a noble work in printing religious works to sell at a low price, and in forming popular libraries.

Shall we conclude, from the preceding, that pastors and people are all walking in the way of truth? Certainly we are far from it; but permit me one remark. Encountered on the way of life by a great and formidable enemy, beaten and mutilated, we were left for dead on the ground. Miraculous aid from on high soon restored us. But ashamed of showing ourselves in tatters, bleeding, feeble, and despoiled, fearing, above all, to be discovered by an enemy who only ceased to roar because he believed us dying, we remained a long time hidden in the deserts and corners of the earth. Then, when we were a little re-established, when our deepest wounds were slightly healed, when we had cleaned and repaired our garments, we again appeared before the world; but in what a state! Ah! if our fathers had seen us! We were altogether contemptible. Like one recovering from a severe illness, our conceptions were feeble, vacillating, incoherent, and erroneous. In what state were we to render an account of our faith? Alas! we often mistook one idea for another, and, with the best intentions in the world, we fell into the greatest aberrations of the natural man.

Doubtless we do better now; we begin to consider where we

are. That which is not conformable to the Gospel is energetically opposed, and gradually disappears. There is evidently in us a livelier movement, which marks a return to a more flourishing state of health. Nevertheless we are not completely healed; much is still wanting. We have still too many heterodox or indifferent pastors; too many orthodox pastors without spiritual life; too many pastors insufficiently qualified for their mission; still too large a majority of those who professedly believe unconverted, or careless of their salvation.

But, courage! The Sun of Righteousness, who carries health in His rays, has gloriously risen on our heads; His growing splendour foretells a future more glorious than the past; and already to the attentive ear there are voices which, from the four winds of heaven, say to us—

> Eglise du Seigneur tes destins s'accomplissent;
> Tu verras de beaux jours; ton Dieu l'a déclaré.

The speaker then proceeds to declare that there is a movement of real life in French Protestantism, and passes in review many joyful symptoms which fill him with hope. He then goes on:—

But is there nothing wanting to this movement, so encouraging and Evangelical, which seems almost to dispute the palm with the era of the apostles and reformers? He must be blind who thinks so! Many things are wanting.

And, first of all, we want faith. Our faith is weak and too often more calculated to form teachers than humble and fervent Christians. We search the Scriptures, but very imperfectly. We have not yet understood those words of our Master, "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Our convictions are not doubtful; often they are even strong and energetic. They have not, however, yet acquired that vigour which deeply moves the soul of the believer, and leads him to communicate grace to those who surround and hear him. We profess the great truths of Christianity; but we do not understand them, we do not feel them; we practise them, but very superficially; and we must confess that we are more agitated on the surface than in the depths. We have witnessed, God be praised, an incontestable Christian courage, but this courage is far, very far, from being what it ought to be. Very frequently it is arrested, or, at least, paralysed, by the opinion of the world, by opposition, by the feeling of our

numerical inferiority, by the disfavour with which an enervated and sceptical state of society, like ours, receives a positive faith. In proportion to the smallness of our number, our sacrifices for the cause of the Gospel are certainly considerable. Nevertheless, if we compare them with the fortunes possessed by many Protestants, with the profession of our faith, above all, with that love which has been shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, we shall be obliged to admit that they are far below what they ought to be, and that we still love more in word than in deed and in truth. Thanks be to God, we possess a certain measure of the Holy Spirit, but yet not enough to perfect many half-expanded virtues, many incomplete convictions, many unfruitful aspirations; not a sufficient outpouring of the Spirit do we possess to warm many cold hearts, many frozen souls—to give succour to many sleeping sinners, many inert souls, to dissipate many oppositions from within and without, and, finally, to fortify and reanimate many of the ambassadors of Christ, whose energy is tottering and failing. We need more, much more; and, unhappily, we are not sufficiently sensible of this! We have too exclusive a confidence in doctrine, in dialectic, in talent, and not enough in this declaration of the Lord, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." We are acquainted with the sad moral and religious state of our country; we sincerely deplore it, and we do something to ameliorate it; but are we sufficiently penetrated by a sense of its need? No! We are still strangers to these experiences of Jesus Christ and of the holy men of God. "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! how often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart for my brethren in the flesh."

It is time to finish these examinations, and to draw our conclusions. What, then, is the result of these inquiries?

The result is, that with the exception of the little flock of Protestants, France is, in fact, in the most desolate and frightful religious state.

Let us always guard against exaggeration. At the most deplorable epoch of the history of the Israelites, when idolatry seemed to triumph, when all religion appeared to be buried in the ruins of its sanctuaries; at the moment when the great pro-

phet of Israel himself, despairing perhaps of their situation, cried, "Lord, they have killed thy prophets, they have thrown down thy altars, and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life," what was the reply? "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to Baal!" Will it not be the same among us at the present time? Assuredly!

No doubt facts, in a general view, oblige us to confess that our fine arts, our literature, our philosophy, our Catholicism, and, consequently, almost the entire nation, does not live under the control of religious ideas; but we are not the less persuaded that, among our artists, our literary men, our philosophers, and our priests, some faithful men are to be found, unknown by the many, and often unknown to themselves, who walk with God, and who, though building hay and stubble on the right foundation, which is Jesus Christ, will not the less be saved, although so as by fire. But while joyfully admitting these consoling hopes, we cannot lose sight of our conclusion; and we maintain that, with the exception of a portion of our Protestantism, the religious state of France could not be more deplorable; and that it would be difficult to observe the deportment of our people without involuntarily recalling those words of the Apostle to the Ephesians, "They are without God and without hope."

If the conclusions which we have just drawn are true, if we have properly understood and estimated our situation, it results that Protestantism is the depository of the oracles of God for our country, and that to it alone belongs the future of France.

Can this be doubted? We do not think so, for this conclusion seems to us to be drawn by every mind and from every fact. Is there one impartial Frenchman who, knowing Christianity and Protestantism, is not ready to declare, that if Christianity is to live in our country, it can do so only in Protestantism, its purest expression? Have not our publicists told us that Romanism suffered the sceptre of progress to fall, and to fall for ever, into the hands of the Reformation? Have not crowds of earnest men, really anxious for their salvation, already turned towards us with love; and have they not formed little churches from one end of the empire to another? Is not our Gospel joyfully received everywhere, and our colporteurs with the liveliest interest? Are not the discourses of our pastors and evangelists listened to with sympathy, and our books favourably received and seriously studied? Is not our worship considered as being

the most conformed to Scripture; and is it not indubitable that indifference alone retards its general and definitive adoption? Finally, have not our principal journals avowed, that amongst us opinion turns to Protestantism?

What more is needed to prove that the future of France is truly in our hands? But if it be so, what a charge—what responsibility! It is truly a case for the Apostle's words, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

Nevertheless, we fear nothing. We feel confident that He who hath called us is faithful. Has He not promised to bless, even to a thousand generations, those who love Him, and keep His commandments? Our fathers kept His commandments, and died rather than be unfaithful to Him. How can we doubt that the accomplishment of the promise fully belongs to us? The Lord will, therefore, be with us: yes, He will be with us, as He ever has been with His people.

Amen! amen! you respond. Yes, amen! amen! to the glory of the Redeemer! Amen! to the salvation of France!

But God desires to penetrate us more and more with the thought that the Church can never be restored, except by the Holy Spirit who founded and revived, in their decline, the Churches of the Prophets and Apostles. Let us, therefore, hasten to increase our upper chambers wherever there are two or three children of God, asking and expecting the promise of the Father. Let us understand that one of our most pressing and imperative duties is, to take the most immediate and efficacious measures for union, and grouping ourselves—*en masse*, so to speak—around our common Head; fight with Him, for Him, and by Him, until we gain a perfect victory. This is the secret of our strength, and we do not hesitate to affirm it aloud, this will be the condition of our success.

"When you see the children of God feel the necessity of waiting for, and uniting to supplicate the effusion of, the Spirit," says H. Pyt, "be sure the kingdom of Jesus Christ is not far off."

Has not Jesus said, "If two or three of you shall agree touching anything ye shall ask, it shall be done." Let us more firmly lay hold of this promise, so shall we march to the conquest of the country, and bring it into subjection to our God and to His Christ.

"Oui, qu' à ces soins chacun de nous s'applique,
Nous l'entendrons indicible bonheur!
Temple, maison, rue et place publique,
Tout redira le beau nom du Sauveur."

And now, brethren of every name, and of all denominations, what shall we do? We will approach God as one man, and in presence of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ represented in this assembly, we will, in spirit, give to each other the hand of fellowship: we will form a holy and Evangelical Alliance in love to God and our own country. In the month of August, 1572, the adversary endeavoured in this great city in which we are to-day so peaceably assembled, and in our beautiful provinces, to annihilate our glorious reformation by the most cruel massacres of which history preserves the record. Let it be that from the date of August, 1855, and this memorable assembly, we may be seen spreading ourselves with more zeal and love than ever over the surface of the country, inviting our people to the banquet of Him who prayed for His murderers as well as for His disciples, and the whole world will then see in a more striking manner, that the thoughts and sentiments of Protestantism are the thoughts and sentiments of Jesus Christ!

ON THE DIVINE MISSION OF FRANCE.

BY THE REV. W. MONOD,
SUFFRAGAN PASTOR, ROUEN.

The end of all God's dispensations towards nations is the establishment of the kingdom of Jesus Christ on the earth; and in the measures He adopts for the attainment of this end, He has assigned to every nation its own part and special mission. This is most evident, from the study of the sacred writings and of history.

What is the Divine mission of France, what is its part in the accomplishment of God's designs for the salvation of the world? This is the question to which I have been led by the report which you have just heard, and which I now bring before you.

It is a serious question if the importance of the part which God assigns to France is to be judged of by the place she holds among civilised nations and by the rank she occupies in the world.

France is the queen of the European Continent. What I call her royalty is not superiority of material power (although she may lay claim to this), but the influence she possesses by her political and natural position, the resources of her commerce and industry, her light, her language and literature. No country on the Continent of Europe enjoys such a union of all those advantages which give to one nation an ascendancy over others. History proves this. How ought this ascendancy of France to serve the cause of the Gospel, and how may it do so?

By preparing the triumph of the Reformation.

This may seem like a paradox. Is it not evident to the eyes of Europe, and from the relations which the nations bear to each other, that France is the chief support of the Romish Church, as England is of the Protestant? I acknowledge it, but that does not prevent me from thinking that France is destined to make the cause of Protestantism triumph in Europe. Nominally, it is

the auxiliary of Catholicism, and its most illustrious auxiliary; but, in reality, it is the auxiliary of Protestantism, and a more powerful one than it chooses to acknowledge.

It is so by its history, by its political constitution, by its literature, and finally, by its moral and religious condition.

By its history.—What is, in fact, the most salient point in this history—that by which France has attracted the greatest attention, and which has drawn to it the eyes of all nations? It is the contest between the two Churches, which has been going on in its bosom since the sixteenth century; and, indeed, from the twelfth, for the Albigenses were Protestants under another name. Europe has looked on and taken part in this contest for three centuries, and France herself has filled Europe and the world with traces of the strife. God forbid that I should here recall it in a spirit of rancour or hatred! God forbid that I should raise bitter resentment in any heart! Should I forget that France—the true France—is now ashamed of these recollections, and disavows the persecutors in presence of the sons of the persecuted, denying for her own those who do not disavow them as she does? Shall I forget what she has done to repair towards the children the wrongs committed against their fathers? We should not be Christians if we hated our persecutors, how much less our fellow-countrymen, who are endeavouring to console the sons of the martyrs, and a country which can boast of assembling them peacefully in the same city in which flowed the blood of St. Bartholomew, and on the very anniversary of St. Bartholomew, for the purpose of seeking, under the protection of its laws, the furtherance of their faith. We love these fellow-citizens, we pray for this beloved country, consoler of our griefs; but we do not fear, in its presence, to point out the great lessons which God has given to the world in its history. He designs that this history should be a living demonstration, made by France herself, of the excellency of the faith, persecuted in her name.

In the conflicts of the Christian faith, every one knows that it is not power which decides the victory; it is faith, and the fruits of faith. Where the fruits of faith exist, there is faith; where there is faith, there is truth, there is God. Where the fruits of faith most abound, there truth is purest. At Golgotha, the conquerer was the crucified, and His cross is the pledge of future triumph, because it testified that God was with Him. Seen at Golgotha, and by the light of the Cross, the religious contest,

which has filled the history of France, has been a perpetual victory for the persecuted Church, a continually renewed demonstration of the sacredness of its cause. It is no longer asked whether the religion of Jesus Christ was that of the Dominicans, who exterminated the Albigenses, or that of the Albigenses, whom even their enemies were forced to acknowledge to be blameless, while exterminating them; that of Catherine de Medicis, or that of Gaspard Coligny, who forgave his murderers; that of Louis XIV. and his dragonnades, or that of those whom they martyred; that of Louis XV. and his mistresses, or that of the Christians who met in the desert to pray for their king. Just and admirable retribution of God! While triumphing on the soil of France, and by France, Rome has bruised herself, and with her own hand inflicted her mortal wound. The recollection of the Albigenses, of St. Bartholomew, of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the dragonnades, is henceforth an ineffaceable bloody stigma on the forehead of Rome, marked by the hand of France to warn the world what she is. France is the auxiliary of the Reformation by her history.

She is so by her *political constitution*. Whatever changes her constitution may have undergone during the last sixty years, liberty of conscience and worship has been proclaimed by all the successive governments. France has had the glory of being the first to proclaim it on the continent, and thanks to her happy initiative, the principles of this liberty begin to be honoured there. If France would only dare to practise what is written in her laws, and give to conscience the liberty promised by the National Assembly, by Napoleon, by Louis XVIII., by Louis Philippe, and by Louis Napoleon, the holy cause of freedom would soon triumph in Europe by the ascendancy of France associated with the ascendancy of England. And from the day it triumphs, true Protestantism will triumph with it. It only needs this liberty. It loves all kinds of liberty legitimately obtained; but to flourish and extend, it simply needs that this liberty should be understood; for what it has to proclaim is the Word of God, which is more powerful than men, and is certain to reign where it is heard.

France is the auxiliary of Protestantism by its *literature*. If there is a language which, at the present time, can be called European, every one knows it is the French. Many causes have

no doubt contributed to its celebrity; its beauty and simplicity, the excellence of many of its writers, and the political influence of France; but it must not be forgotten that it is due in part also to the Reformation. The French Reformation produced men, and writings, which have drawn the attention and won the admiration of Europe; and the persecution of the French Protestants scattered these men, or their writings, throughout Europe; it dispersed abroad, if not *the elite*, at least *an elite* of the French population, which for a time created a France in every country which gave them an asylum. From this time, the French language and its literature became European. I am well aware that the influence of this literature is far from having been directly favourable to the Gospel, as after the expulsion of the Reformation France became the country of infidelity. But even in its errors this literature indirectly served the cause of Protestantism and the Gospel, by bringing upon Catholicism the most terrible blows which it has ever suffered. The great writers of France of the eighteenth century did what Calvin and the Reformers were not able to accomplish; they for ever ruined the cause of Catholicism in France, because they demonstrated that it cannot be the sincere religion of an enlightened people. Their controversy, which the Reformers might have reproved, has been found the most capable of captivating the attention of France, and the most formidable to which Rome has ever been exposed, precisely because it did not come from Protestants, but from those whom it called its children, and because all Europe had learnt the language in which this controversy was carried on, and took some part or other in the debate.

I know that French literature has great names which seem to support the cause of Catholicism—Bossuet, Pascal, Fenelon, Massillon. But are these writers really supporters of Catholicism in any other way than by their name? Are not those writings of Bossuet, which are national or European, those also which are admired by Protestants as well as Catholics, and which give their testimony to the truths of Christianity? Are you acquainted with a popular page of Bossuet, Pascal, Fenelon, Massillon, which preaches up the Pope and the worship of saints? You know that Rome and its friends have condemned them, and would like to see them annihilated.

Let us pass to modern writers. Name to me one popular French writer of the present day in France or Europe who is

an auxiliary of the Romish Church. There was, perhaps, one; Lamennais; but before he died, he became its most formidable adversary, and this made him ten times more popular. Mention to me one who is not indirectly our auxiliary, by combatting errors which we combat and believe to be dangerous. I am far from wishing to associate our cause with that of these writers; they have no intention of serving our cause; nevertheless, they do serve it more effectively than they imagine, as they for the most part call themselves Catholic, and cannot be considered as our allies.

The most powerful organ of thought in France is the periodical press, which may be considered as forming part of its literature, and which is spread throughout civilised Europe. Which are the most accredited, the most influential of our journals? Are they not those which Catholicism dreads the most, and which make incessant war with it; all the while calling themselves Catholics? But we have those which are yet more dangerous to it than the *Débats*, the *Siècle*, and the *Presse;* they are those which pretend to be its warmest defenders. Perhaps Protestantism has not a more useful auxiliary in France than the *Univers*. It is that which declares every day to France that our cause is the cause of reason and good sense. Thus, by a marvellous dispensation of God, or rather by a concurrence of marvellous dispensations, the consequence of the persecution of the Reformation, France has become a school where all Europe may be instructed, and where, for two centuries, it has learnt to reject the errors which the Reformation has rejected.

There is no sign more certain by which to judge of the *moral and religious state* of a country than its writers and favourite journals. In judging the French nation by this sign, M. Farjat has told us, we arrive at the mournful conclusion that France is without religion. It is not without worship; it makes a point of having a form of worship, and all the more, perhaps, because it is without true religion, endeavouring to conceal the want of heart and the absence of conviction by spectacles which amuse the eye. Vain effort! let them multiply ceremonies, increase the pomp of processions, exhume relics, and oblige themselves to help their imaginations by the poetry of the worship of Mary; let them be the champions of Catholicism; no enlightened man, within or without, will believe in the sincerity of these demonstrations, and in this alliance of France with

Rome. France has herself said to Europe that she is without religion.

Without religion, did we say; but let us take care; there are two ways of being without religion. One is to be without it by rejecting the religion of truth; the other is to be so by rejecting a religion of error, or a religion mixed with error. One is to be so by hatred of the Gospel; the other by disgust of superstition. A nation in the South Sea Islands had broken their idols before the arrival of any Christian missionary; these people were without a religion when the first missionaries arrived, but this was found to be God's preparation for the reception of the truth, and never did missionaries meet with more striking success than those who preached the Gospel to these people; in a few years they all became Christians. I have no idea of comparing France to the Sandwich Islands; but this is what I say: if France is now without religion, it is not because she desires to be without religion, but because she is too enlightened to believe in the religion given to her; it is because she needs a new religion. Perhaps there was a time when impiety and atheism seemed to have a chance of reigning in France; but that time is passed. I appeal to the seriousness of France in the nineteenth century compared with its frivolity in the eighteenth. I appeal to the respect with which those writers and orators speak of the Deity who have in our century most deeply moved the hearts of our people. I appeal to the veneration with which this people, in the midst of their aberrations, have frequently environed the name of Jesus Christ. I appeal to the attentive multitudes who, in many towns, press to hear where the Word of Jesus Christ is preached in its purity; to that thirst for hearing which is manifested in so many different parts of France, and to the efforts which are made to prevent the people from hearing. No; the people are not without religion, because they do not wish for the Gospel, but they are without religion because they cannot believe in their own, and desire it no longer, although they still retain its appearance and form. God has prepared, and still prepares, them, by their very irreligion, to receive that religion which they need—the only religion that can satisfy their understandings and their hearts—the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, the Gospel of the Reformation. The first time that the Reformation was preached in France, in the twelfth century, it was received

as the Gospel of the Apostles in the first centuries; it gained souls by thousands and tens of thousands; a war of extermination was needed to arrest it. The second time, in the sixteenth century, it was, by terrifying France with tortures and massacres, that the progress of the Reformation was limited, for they could not stop it; and two centuries of persecution could not kill it. France has now recalled it from exile, and re-established it in its place, in the midst of the ruins of every kind which its absence or silence has made. If, at length, France is permitted freely to hear this known and loved voice of the Reformation, which, for so many centuries, she has been longing to hear, the Reformation will save her. And, after it has saved her, the history of France will become to all nations a magnificent demonstration of the holiness of that Gospel of grace for which so many French martyrs have suffered, and a light which will dissipate the shadows in which so many countries of Europe are still involved.

BELGIUM.

ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF BELGIUM.

BY THE REV. E. PANCHAUD,
OF BRUSSELS.

THE religious state of Belgium has continued to decline more and more during the last four years.

We have, however, the joy to add this second fact, that the progress of the Gospel has not been less constant during the same period.

In order to perceive the truth of our first assertion, it will be necessary to cast an eye on the religious state of Belgium antecedent to the period mentioned. The memoir, however, presented by the present writer, "On the Spirit of Popery, its Operations and Prospects," to the London Conference in 1851, furnishes sufficient information on the subject.* It is there stated as follows :—

I. Popery is the same in Belgium as it shows itself to be in every country where it is not controlled by a majority of educated or religious men.

1. The doctrines taught may be known by the theological manual used in the larger and smaller seminaries, which is the "Theology of Dens." This book is modelled upon the decrees of the Council of Trent, interpreted in the ultramontane sense. Such are the doctrines, such the sermons, and such also the theological press. A body of clergy, counting its priests and members of religious orders by thousands, having numerous seminaries, and the University of Louvain belonging exclusively to them, has not produced during the last ten years more than five or six works which can be mentioned for their scientific value in exegesis, or in apologetic or dogmatic Christianity. A large number of pamphlets on certain *devotions* have been pub-

* See "The Religious Condition of Christendom," p. 345.—ED.

lished, but not a single book of good sermons or simple and pious homilies.

2. Public worship, instead of becoming more spiritual, becomes more and more pompous and theatrical. In it the attention and thoughts are drawn towards material objects, but when the minds and hearts of the people have been fascinated, they are left destitute of real piety. The so-called religious services are crowded by persons who, as soon as they are over, plunge into dissipation, and take part in the most clamorous amusements, even on the days of their grand solemnities. The worship of Mary predominates over all other worship; and such is the confidence reposed in the intercession of the Virgin, that no one dies a happy death, in popular estimation, who does not cast himself into the arms of the Mother of Mercy.

3. The discipline of the Church may be described in one word. Excessive lenity to the sinner who conforms to the round of worship, although persisting, at the same time, in his wickedness. Severity beyond measure, anathema on every one who does not conform, no matter what may be his love to God, his faith in Jesus Christ, or his obedience to the Gospel.

4. Independent of the civil power, by the constitution of the country, but salaried by the State, the clergy are attempting to regain that power over public instruction which the law wrested from them; and to re-establish the law of mortmain in favour of their religious and charitable institutions. A violent struggle has been carried on between the clergy and the Government on these points. Deprived of the secular arm, by which to persecute dissentients, the priest does not hesitate to employ every means in his power to intimidate his religious adversaries, and not unfrequently takes from them their only means of subsistence, or deprives them of all benevolent help. It was by uniting with the liberal party in 1830, that the clergy, who were hostile to the Dutch Protestant Government, succeeded in overthrowing it. The revolution was then their work, and Rome once more authorised and sanctioned revolt, as she always does when she can turn it to her own account.

II. The means by which Popery carries on its propaganda in Belgium are—Religious orders, schools, festivals, the press, and money. A word on each of these powerful levers.

1. Religious Orders.—Belgium contains members of every order. In 1851 there were 450 convents for men, and 150 for

women; at the rate of twenty members for each house we have 12,000 persons. Add to this 6,000 secular priests, and it will be found that, in a kingdom containing four and a half millions of inhabitants, there are 18,000 persons, in the prime of life, having a superior education to that possessed by the common people, bound together by the most terrible oaths to advance the interests of Popery. As auxiliaries to this legion, we must add a host of men, as singers, beadles, &c., &c., whose means of subsistence depend entirely on the good pleasure of the priests.

Among the monastic orders, the Jesuits, under different names, hold the first rank both in Brussels, as also in the provincial towns.

2. Schools.—After having secured the direction of the religious instruction in the parish schools, by means of a law passed in 1848, the clergy opened many establishments of education, from which all lay influence is carefully excluded, and in which they placed their own teachers. Primary schools may be opened anywhere, independently of the priests; but in villages and small towns it is impossible for them to prosper.

The intermediate instruction is also in the priests' hands, with a few exceptions, in some of the most important towns. They succeeded, by means of private arrangements, in getting their colleges adopted in a considerable number of parishes; but a new law having overthrown those arrangements, the clergy not only protested against the law, but placed all the colleges under interdict, in which they were not called on *ex officio* to direct the studies.

3. The Festivals are a very efficacious means of keeping the population attached to the Roman Church. These festivals are always associated with pleasure and amusements; the pompous and theatrical ceremonies by which they are accompanied fascinate the people, and the labour which they give to tradesmen is a source of profit to many.

4. The Press.—If there are no periodical publications for edification written by the clergy, their pens are busily employed in editing "Manuals of Devotion," full of prayers and litanies in honour of the Virgin Mary and of the saints. They do, however, take part in the editorship of "The Catholic Review of Louvain" and "The Historical Journal of Liège," monthly magazines, the spirit of which is essentially ultramontane. Occasionally a

good scientific article may be found in their pages; but they never speak of Evangelical Protestantism with impartiality.

5. Money.—Independently of the gold, and silver, and precious stones which are accumulated in the different Churches, a continual increase of landed property is apparent in spite of the mortmain law.

III. This unfortunate state of things, as described in 1851, has become much worse under the pressure of the following circumstances :—

1. The events which have occurred in the Royal family.
2. The politico-clerical reaction.
3. The presence of French refugees.
4. The increase of pauperism.

Let us glance at each of these points.

1. Events in the Royal Family.—The death of the Queen, which took place in 1850, was glorified as that of a saint; this, in its turn, glorified the Roman Church, of which the Queen was a most devoted daughter. Rome, adorned with the virtues of the wife of Leopold, triumphed, and the effect was immense. The infidel and the indifferent rendered their homage, at least for a time, to that form of worship which Louise of Orleans professed. All dissent from Rome seemed to disappear at her grave. Soon after, the nation seconded the desires of the King to raise a monument to the illustrious deceased; and Leopold, a Protestant—a scion of the Protestant House of Saxe Coburg—decided on building a Roman Catholic Church to receive the remains of his Consort.

The marriage of the Duke of Brabant to an Austrian Archduchess, belonging, as she does, to that Imperial family which has always either secretly oppressed or openly persecuted the people of God, begets a fear that, notwithstanding its liberal constitution, a day will arrive when Belgium will be again torn by religious persecution.

2. Politico-Clerical Reaction.—However numerous and varied the causes which brought about the overthrow of the Liberal Ministry in 1852, it cannot be denied that it fell through the attacks of the clergy, whose plans and acts it vigorously opposed. The Ministers were determined to carry into effect the law voted in 1850, relating to intermediate instruction, and which takes out of the hands of the clergy all part in it, *ex officio*. They also intended to introduce a bill to regulate the adminis-

tration of public charity, and to close the door against those abuses of the mortmain law, which had been carried on in the interest of religious communities. On these two points, the Government met with the most violent opposition; and notwithstanding the concessions made to the clergy, which, according to custom, were unavailing, the Ministers were obliged to retire, before the results of a general election, in 1854. The influence of the clerical party greatly increased. At the present moment, the field of battle is in their hands, and they are masters of the position. An imposing minority, it is true, keeps them in check, and prevents them from accomplishing all their designs; but they have gained, and will still gain, important victories over religious liberty.

The Roman Catholic Church zealously invokes religious liberty wherever the civil authority impedes its action, or refuses it a privilege; but it makes light of that liberty, and even anathematises it, whenever there is a question of protecting the rights of Protestantism.

3. The Presence of French Refugees.—Far from us be the thought of augmenting their sufferings in exile, by heaping on them any reproaches, or by loading them with blame. We do not, however, do them any wrong by pointing out the injurious effects of those religious principles which they openly avow.

The influence which these men have exercised on the Belgian people has been, so far as religion is concerned, most deleterious. We except from the number one distinguished writer, Mr. E. Quinet, who has employed his time of exile in Belgium in bringing to light the memoirs of Marnix de Saint Aldegonde, one of the most illustrious among the Reformers of the Netherlands; equally celebrated as a soldier, a diplomatist, and a writer. Mr. E. Quinet has thus rendered us an important service. But to one such publication how many may we not oppose in which are found a worldly spirit and a bastard Christianity, pampering the passions of the day!

Either from their talents, or the high positions which some of them have held, or the *prestige* which always surrounds the unfortunate, these new guests of Belgium enjoy much consideration, and exercise an influence very detrimental to the truths of the Gospel.

4. Pauperism, which produces, in Belgium, a disposition to sacrifice everything for a morsel of bread.

The reason which decides a large number of masters, who are quite indifferent to religion, to keep their servants and work-people in the Roman Catholic Church, if only outwardly, is the importance they attach to a "unity of belief" or of worship. They say, this country is essentially Roman Catholic. The dissentients are mostly foreigners, and scarcely count one per cent. of the population, and it is impossible to alter this state of things. It is, therefore, better to prevent any new dissent. For this reason, Roman Catholics and liberals, bigots and non-bigots, take advantage of their position to impose on the poor the claims of Roman Catholicism. There are certainly some cheering exceptions, which are so much the more honourable from the exceptions being so few.

The statements thus made will enable us at once to conclude that Belgium, in a religious point of view, is far from being in a satisfactory position. If we cast a rapid *coup d'œil* on the different classes of society, we shall be fully convinced that the causes pointed out have wrought their effects.

Roman Catholicism, with its rites, ceremonies, and gorgeous pomps, reigns exclusively at Court and in the Government. No Protestant can be found in the Chambers of Parliament, nor in the higher class of magistrates. The adversaries of Popery who have places in those bodies are a minority, and only profess an opposition to ultramontane principles. There is reason to believe that they are "free-thinkers," and that their religious principles are reducible to those of Freemasonry.

The nobility, and especially that portion which has large landed properties, are united as one man to the clergy. They do not separate their interests from those of Popery. The two noble families who are the most prominent in Brussels openly and zealously patronise the Roman Church, and oppose unceasingly every effort at proselytism. The death of the Marquis of Aoust, in 1854, deprived the Belgian Evangelical Church of the only member of the nobility which could be found in its ranks. With pleasure, however, we can now mention a Lalaing, who has come forward to replace him whom God had taken away.

The monetary and higher commercial interests, not less than the aristocracy, are strangers to the spirit of the Gospel. The heads of a few houses may be Protestants or Jews, but being for the most part foreigners, their number is too small to offer any

opposition to Popery. With one or two exceptions, there is no person having a high monetary position decidedly in favour of the spread of the Gospel; whilst all the Roman Catholic bankers who are members of the Chambers support the clerical party.

It is a remarkable fact that independence of opinion, and a disposition to seek after truth, is to be found only among the middling and working classes.

The same phenomenon appears in the country. The rich manufacturers, extensive landholders, and larger farmers, all dwell in the *valley of the shadow of death*. But the smaller farmers, artisans, day labourers, and miners, allow themselves to be taught. It is among these that the Gospel finds its disciples.

The same indifference to religion reigns in the army. Neither the evangelist nor the colporteur has had any access to the military. At Charleroi, however, since the opening of the new chapel, about twenty to thirty non-commissioned officers and soldiers have regularly attended the services. This has been the case for five years, notwithstanding the constant change of regiments. In some instances, the Gospel has been blessed to them. A few weeks since, a colporteur attempted to introduce the Scriptures into the barracks at Brussels. A few copies were sold. Some public conferences on the objects of faith or on controversy with Rome having been held in several towns, a considerable number of military men were observed to be present.

No decidedly religious movement can be noticed among schoolmasters, whether of the parish schools or of those that are free. We are convinced, however, that among this class, in proportion to their numbers, may be found those who are most favourable to the Evangelical cause. Many reject the doctrines of Rome with all their heart, while they are strangers to those convictions which come from the Holy Spirit, so that they remain satisfied with an inward protest against Romanism; at the same time openly conforming to it, not to deprive themselves of their daily bread. We have seen some shed bitter tears on their unfortunate position.

An idea may be formed of the preponderance of Roman Catholic authority over all primary instruction, both private and parochial, when it is stated that there is not a single establishment in Belgium, besides the Evangelical Schools, in which the New Testament is placed in the hands of the scholars!

The two national Universities at Ghent and Liège have not a single professor whose opinions are in harmony with the Gospel. Some are devoted to Rome, others are opposed; but these pronounce very timidly an opinion on religious matters. The two independent Universities of Brussels and Louvain manifest more decidedly the spirit which presided at their formation. The first represents free examination in its most decided form; the second, the most exaggerated ultramontanism. Assisted by the resources at the command of the clergy, and recruited by the Jesuits and father-confessors, this latter has a large number of students, amounting to about 600. Its prosperity, in a material point of view, is also more marked. Devout Roman Catholics consider Louvain as their *Alma Mater*, and Brussels as the home of heresy.

The Roman Catholic clergy, faithful to their traditions, commenced by grasping at enormous privileges in matters of education. After having obtained the influence at which they aimed in those establishments supported by public money, they opened new schools in every branch of instruction. In these they reign and form the youth according to their pleasure. These institutions have continued to increase in number, especially such as are under the direction of the Jesuits. At Brussels, the Jesuit College of St. Michael competes successfully with the Royal Athenæum. Its buildings have been enlarged, and a church, with a magnificent cupola, has been added.

The liberal Roman Catholics founded the University of Brussels, and still support it, for the purpose of opposing ultramontane principles, but it is a "philosophy falsely so called" which presides there. The course given by M. Tiberghien, successor of Professor Ahrens, and the continuator of his doctrines, is evidently nothing else than the reproduction of the system of Krause. It is but just to him and to his colleague, the Professor of History, to acknowledge the courage with which they have attacked the doctrines of Rome, and exposed the shameful doings of Popery. M. Altmeyer held several conferences last winter on the history of the country during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; a warm advocate of liberty of conscience and free discussion, he especially stigmatised the persecutions and excesses of the Roman clergy. His pamphlet, entitled "La Succursale du Tribunal de Sang au Seizième Siècle," is written in the same spirit.

These conferences were listened to by a crowded audience, who pressed around the doors before the hour of commencement, in order to secure places; and notwithstanding the rigour of the season in which they were given, the avenues to the lecture-room of the University remained open, and filled with anxious hearers. Each discourse was received with loud applause. It was expected that the press would publish them, but this was not the case. Probably an intervention on the part of the higher powers, instigated by the clergy, prevented it.

But if Roman Catholicism was attacked by the Professor of History, the Reformation was not spared. Serious errors, both as to the doctrines and to the conduct of the Reformers, were taught; so much so, that a Protestant minister felt it his duty to call on the professor, and point out to him his error. In all these lectures there was to be found nothing which rose above a cold Deism and the ethics of the epoch.

Such is an exposition—alas! too faithful—of the instruction which is to form the spirit and heart of the Belgian youth. Such as is the master, such is the disciple. The forms are filled either with the abettors of Jesuitism, or the adepts of a cold, barren, and incomplete philosophy.

If from the schools we pass on to the clergy, and the legion which fights under their orders, we find at once complete subjection to the hierarchy. Not a single trace remains of the resistance which was manifested a few years since.

The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was accepted by all the clergy without the least difficulty; and this disastrous novelty furnishes them with another means of substituting the worship of Mary for that of the true God, and of augmenting their own power and wealth.

The press, so far from improving, inclines more and more to the spirit of the French press. Politics, history, literature, every subject, is discussed and judged of in the same tone. It is only, it must be acknowledged, but for the most part a faint copy; but, from time to time, Belgian patriotism breaks forth, and the struggle for liberty against the clerical party occasions a polemic which has its originality, and is not destitute of grandeur and power.

The deplorable consequences of the religious condition which we have been describing have been felt in the public morals. The number of crimes and offences has augmented notably in

Flanders, where, hitherto, evangelisation has not been able to accomplish much.

It was said, at the commencement of this paper, that "during the last four years the Gospel has made continual progress." Whoever has taken part in the evangelisation of a country will be able easily to understand how the large majority of a population may be precipitated more and more into evil, and yet a feeble, courageous, and faithful minority make conquests. It is just this spectacle which Evangelical Protestantism offers in Belgium.

Doubtless, the name Protestant, or Evangelical, does not necessarily imply a Christian character. On the other hand, it is evident that the disciples of Christ must be sought for among those men who, separated from the Roman Catholic Church, have the privilege of being able to read the Holy Scriptures. So that, if Protestantism has made any conquests, it may be at once concluded that the Gospel has advanced in its influence.

This development has been apparent in the Protestant Church supported by the State. In 1851, there were ten pastors; at the present moment there are twelve. The Synodal Commission of this Church provides for the maintenance of two more and an evangelist; so that there are fifteen congregations belonging to the Synodal Protestant Church.

The Belgian Evangelical Society, or the Missionary Christian Church, has lost, since 1851, two of its congregations—one united to the State Protestant Church, the other to Plymouth-Brethrenism. But the two Free Churches of Brussels, and one of Warmes have joined themselves to the Evangelical Society. Two new stations have been founded—one at Ghent, the other at St. Juris-Werth. At the present moment there are fifteen Churches connected with this body, or three more than in 1851. Mention has also to be made of the establishment of a Presbyterian Church at Louvain, supported by the Free Church of Scotland; at Brussels, of a Baptist congregation, now divided into two parts; and of a Plymouthist congregation at Fontaine L'Eveque.

In addition to the above, there are eight Anglican Churches in Belgium; but being composed of English, few of whom speak the language of the country, their influence is not felt.

There has been also an increase in the number of schools be-

longing to the different denominations. At present there are twenty-five, or five more than in 1851.

The distribution of Religious Tracts has been carried on with great success. The average circulation amounts to about 30,000 per annum. These sheets are always received with pleasure. Every year the number of popular libraries becomes larger.

The three monthly magazines, "Le Glaneur Missionnaire," "Le Chrètien Belge," and "L'Union," continue, although in 1851 there were reasons for fearing that sufficient subscribers would not be found to sustain them.

The religious literature of Belgium has been enriched by the translation of several English works, but there have also been several original productions added; viz., "Conferences on the Mass," "The Bible and the Bishop of Bruges," "The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," "Four Letters of a Belgian Liberal," "The Bible and Modern Science," "Exposition of Christian Doctrine."

It is interesting to notice the yearly sale of Bibles by the British and Foreign Bible Society, notwithstanding the reduction made by that institution in the number of colporteurs labouring in Belgium. From 6,000 to 7,000 copies are disseminated every year. Thirty years ago, the one-hundredth part of this number could not have been circulated.

Several Evangelical Chapels have been built or taken on lease within the past few years, viz., St. Juris Werth, Brussels, Lize-Seraing, Charleroi, Jumet, Ghent, Labourerie, and Cuermes.

Progress has also been made in Sunday-schools. The number of scholars, at least in the schools connected with the Evangelical Society, has nearly doubled since 1851. They may be calculated at 300.

A Young Men's Christian Association has been formed in Brussels, and another in Antwerp. In the last-mentioned city, the association has shown a very praiseworthy zeal in favour of emigrants and sailors. It also employs a colporteur.

When, in 1850, a Christian book-shop was opened in Brussels, it was anxiously inquired, Will a sale sufficient to support it be secured? Experience has proved most decidedly the affirmative. Notwithstanding the prejudice and even opposition with which it was assailed, the sales have continued to increase; it has also proved a very valuable means of evangelisation to those persons who would object at first to enter a Protestant place of worship.

The amount of collections for benevolent and missionary work has also augmented; an indication of a greater liberality or of a larger number of donors. A Refuge for Aged Protestants has also been founded.

The total number of persons belonging to the different Protestant denominations in the country is about 10,000, children included, divided among thirty-three congregations. The increase during the last four years may be valued at a thousand souls.

If cases of failure have been met with in the work of evangelisation, on the other hand there have been many individual conversions, and frequent instances of revivals—more or less extensive—in certain places, and progress in the Christian life.

There is a unity between the two great Protestant bodies as to the Presbyterian regimen.

The fifteen Churches of the Belgian Evangelical Society have recently adopted, as the symbol of their faith, the Confession of the Belgian Churches of the sixteenth century; and if the Protestant Church paid by the State has not as a body signed that Confession of Faith, a considerable number of her ministers are quite prepared to do so.

The same unity in discipline is found to exist among the free congregations. Without the least pressure having been exercised on those Churches at their formation, they have with common accord acknowledged the necessity of an individual profession, distinct from the ceremony of confirmation in youth. All have also proclaimed the right and the duty of the Church to watch over the conduct of its members, and to exclude such as the Scripture commands to be withdrawn from.

If, notwithstanding these points of agreement, the Evangelical Alliance has not made that progress which could be desired, the fault must be ascribed principally to the antagonism which sprang up in certain places between the National Protestant and the Free Churches; the dispersion and the poverty of the brethren is also a cause of failure. Separated by considerable distances, they have not the time nor the money necessary to meet and pass a few days together. There are also several brethren in Belgium, sincere friends of the cause of the Alliance, who think that their essential duty is to evangelise the country, and that to this work should be devoted all the

time, strength, and resources which the Churches can command.

In Brussels, these obstacles have been more easily overcome, and the Alliance has succeeded in gathering together most of the brethren, and their labours are carried on with regularity.

We finish, leaving to those who shall speak the task of explaining by what means the work in Belgium can be aided. We merely indicate them:—

1. The establishment at Brussels of some well-qualified men of God, to take part in the administration of the affairs of our religious societies.

2. Pecuniary aid, by which a larger number of itinerant preachers and Scripture-readers may be supported and sent out.

3. Gifts of religious books, of a certain scope, and containing solid instruction, to be placed in the hands of the ministers and in religious libraries, to be lent with prudence.

4. Help to societies and Churches, striving to gather new congregations and to organise new schools.

5. The formation of a superior school, for training evangelists and schoolmasters; and it would also be a preparatory school for young men seeking to enter the ministry.

May God give to Belgium new friends, who may understand her wants and pray for her!

[After the reading of the foregoing paper, the Rev. V. H. Guye, Pastor of the Wallon Church, at Amsterdam, offered prayer for Belgium; as at the conclusion of the paper on Holland, prayer was offered for that country by the Rev. L. Anet, of Brussels. The brethren from the two countries were also presented together to the assembly, and felicitations were addressed to them by the Rev. F. Monod.]

SWITZERLAND.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN THE REFORMED CANTONS.

BY THE REV. E. GUDER,
BERNE.

August 30, *Morning.—Taitbout Chapel.*

Switzerland, notwithstanding the limited extent of its surface, is far from presenting to the Christian observer a uniform aspect, either in the character, habits, and manners of its diverse populations, or in the manifestation of the religious spirit, or, lastly, in the organization of her Churches. A diversity, rather, obtains, altogether opposed to the unity of the picture. In Switzerland may be found the climates of the northern deserts and of the southern plains. The yew and the rhododendron flourish on her mountains, whilst her vallies offer us the blossoms of the vine, and the chesnut-tree loaded with fruit, just as if Europe had chosen Switzerland for the purpose of concentrating within a narrow compass the beauties and contrasts of other lands. And as her population, consisting of no more than a million and a half of Protestants, and 971,000 Roman Catholics, comprises three nationalities, distinct in their languages, and politically divided into twenty-two cantons, each of which is a small nation of itself, having more or less a special constitution—such, also, is Switzerland, in an ecclesiastical and religious point of view. The religious state of our epoch is reflected there on a small scale, with its light and its shade, its spiritual tendencies and its moral contrasts, its National and its Free Churches, its afflictions, conflicts, and hopes.

If we examine the national character, it will be found composed of Roman and Germanic elements. Protestant Switzerland, especially, is divided into cantons, speaking the French and German languages:—those to the west, on the soil of the ancient Burgundy, and touching France; those to the north and east, with a small portion of the centre on the Germanic territory of the Goths of the east, but bordering principally on Germany. Not

that these different characters are found so distinct and separate as they once were—the Frenchman with his aptitude for activity, his practical address, his social talents, and mind engrossed with the external world; and the German, with his bias equally strong towards a life of contemplation and intellectual activity, with his love of family, and less ability to take part in a public life. A community of interests, increasing with the progress of history and the development of reciprocal commerce, has tended to produce a fusion of mere topographical characteristics, or at least, to harmonise their contrasts. Still it must be acknowledged that the fundamental character of the French Swiss is Roman, and that of the German Swiss, German; that these different characters are visible with their weak and their strong points, and exercise an influence on the religious dispositions of Reformed Switzerland.

At the epoch of the Reformation, Zurich and Geneva took the lead. Both acquired a universal importance as communities by their energetic and unreserved attachment to the cause of the Gospel. *Zurich* was the first to give the impulsion. *Zwingle* was not only the Reformer of his Church, he was also the man of the people; and, after his premature and tragical death, he long lived in the affections of his compatriots. At that period, German Switzerland had not another man like him. This circumstance alone suffices to explain the preponderance of the Zurico-Zwinglian type, with its great sobriety of doctrines, its simplicity of worship, and decided principle of a State Church. The north-east cantons of *Glaris* and *Schaffhausen*, those of *St. Gall*, *Thurgovia*, *Appenzell* and the *Grisons* (in so far as they have thrown off the yoke of Popery), were united to Zurich as much by historical relations as by geographical position. They also adopted that canton as their ecclesiastical authority, their guide, and natural protector. Not only were several of them affiliated to the same synod for a considerable period, but they continued to use, longer than Zurich herself, the books of instruction and worship which they had received from that city.

The city of *Geneva*, or rather let us say, the city of Calvin, appeared on the scene only in the second phase of the Reformation. In harmony with the character of its great Reformer, this city assumed, from the beginning, an attitude more universal than national in all its tendencies. It was at Geneva, more than any other place, that the Reformation took its stand before an as-

tonished world as a complete system, embracing the individual, social, and political life of a people. On the ground of the fundamental doctrines everywhere common to the Reformation, we meet, at Geneva, with a profound investigation into the very depths of biblical and Evangelical truths, in contrast with the exposition of doctrines attempted by Zwingle. In opposition to the Zurich principle of a State Church, we see an Evangelical theocracy, founded on the independence of the religious community, and not requiring the civil power to interfere, otherwise than to protect and maintain ecclesiastical discipline.

The doctrine of Geneva, it is true, penetrates, by degrees, up to a certain point, that part of Switzerland which had proclaimed the Reformation before Geneva; but this was not the case with its principles concerning discipline and a Church united to the State. Its activity was, therefore, directed more abroad, and was developed on a large scale. She made her voice to be heard afar off, and her decisions were eagerly received by the noble sons of France and Scotland, by the people of Friesland and the Netherlands, and even in Italy, Bohemia, and Hungary.

Basle—that nursery of the Reformation, and in this respect the equal of Zurich and Geneva—occupied a peculiar position. Its immediate influence was limited to its own people, the inhabitants of its own territory; but its ancient and renowned University rendered most valuable aid to the cause of truth by its typographical labours, and above all, by printing the most important writings of the Reformers. In intimate relation with other Swiss cities, and always ready to offer them advice, Basle sought to unite them with Germany.

Neufchatel, on the borders of France, stands more in the background. Brought over to the Reformation by the ardent spirit of Farel, but confined by her mountains, and having little contact with the general movement, she founded a Church resembling that of Geneva.

In the centre, lying between the Germans and the French, is seated powerful *Berne*, the real centre of gravity to Reformed Switzerland, with a territory and a population more than three times those of any other canton, even the most considerable. The people of Berne are deficient in a spirit of organization, but they are well furnished with intelligence, practical good sense, and a tenacious will, which rules the inspirations of the heart (*gemüth*); they have always been slow of action, prudent, and

reflecting. They have an innate repugnance to everything eccentric, manifest a wise moderation, and when they have embraced an opinion, they do not readily abandon it. It was slowly, therefore, and at a comparatively late period, that Berne took part in the religious struggles of the sixteenth century. She became not only the firm supporter of the Reformation, but, taking into account the circumstances of that epoch, we are authorised to say that she was its wise regulator.

On the West she exercised a controlling power over the canton of Vaud and a great part of the present Argovia, by which she communicated with Zurich. For a long series of years Berne impressed her character on those two cantons, although Vaud yielded only after a violent resistance.

It would be folly to say that our Alpine country shines now as brilliantly as she did then; thanks to the Gospel torch, she was, in those blessed and ever-memorable days, the city set on a hill. During the last twenty years, however, the eyes of all civilised nations have been fixed on her, on account of the religious and political troubles, intimately connected with each other, by which she has been distressed. Now, as then, the most important problems remain to be solved.

It was at Zurich that the Humanitarians first met with opposition to their worldly system, which aimed to subvert the foundations of Evangelical doctrine. And we may opportunely mention the well-known opposition of the people of Zurich to the nomination of Dr. Strauss as Professor of Theology, which called forth at the time many pamphlets. In French Switzerland, at a more recent date, and chiefly in the Canton of Vaud, the principle of Evangelical independence, so necessary to the life of Christ in our Churches, withstood the modern tendency of the State to absorb everything. The need of that independence produced a secession in the Canton of Vaud, and created a Free Church by the side of the National; it gave birth, in two other French cantons, to several religious congregations separated from the State; and, in many of the German cantons, to important modifications in their ecclesiastical constitution. Lastly, it raised a discussion which is not yet terminated.

We also see, associated, alas! with heterogeneous and impure elements, the conflict between Evangelical liberty and the reaction of modern Rome, in the suppression of the Argovian convents and the violent expulsion of the Jesuits. In this

struggle, all Reformed Switzerland took part, whilst the middle cantons pursued it in the most passionate manner. The war is not yet at an end, and is carried on by means little honourable to the pulpit; it nevertheless tends more and more towards a positive result through the use of spiritual arms.

The position of Reformed Switzerland as a whole remains the same as it was at the time of the Reformation, both in the interior and exterior. There is at the present moment, in the cantonal Churches, a strong disposition in favour of unity—agreeing with their past history, thanks to the religious truths which they have kept. Geneva, the Canton of Vaud, and the Cantons of Zurich, Basle, and Berne, still decide the religious complexion of the Churches. Geneva is powerfully influenced by the Holy Spirit. The different denominations within her walls rival each other in their zealous endeavours to cultivate, with conscientious solicitude, a spirit of piety. Even the Venerable Company of Pastors take a more positive position, and the problems set before the seven commissions of which the company is composed, sufficiently prove that a regenerating influence has been experienced since 1817. Strongly menaced by Roman Catholicism, since she has become a mixed State, old Geneva strives with ability, and frequently with success, to reconquer her ancient glory of being the bulwark of Protestantism. With a noble enthusiasm and unwearied diligence, she labours to plant the standard of God's Word in the heart of the neighbouring countries. A few months since, the Supreme Council entertained the question of separating the Church from the State, but, from political motives, it was put aside.

The Canton of *Vaud* has not yet been able to heal the wound caused by the separation into two Churches; of one mind as to doctrines and confession, they are the more dissimilar in their constitution and their discipline. There is, however, an approach to union on the part of individuals, in this sense—that ministers of the National and of the Free Churches unite together in sections of the society of Swiss preachers. In every other matter, the National Church, containing about 190,000 souls, leans more to Berne; and the Free Church, with about 3,000 followers, in 40 congregations, sympathises more with Genevan tendencies. This last body is labouring with no common zeal and activity in propagating the kingdom of God. *Neufchatel*, also a small people living apart, whose respect for her Church

and pastors could not be destroyed, has not remained insensible to the spring-breath of the resurrection, notwithstanding the lukewarmness and worldliness of its industrial population.

In passing on to *German Switzerland*, we find *Basle*, less a university than the emporium of Swiss commerce, the England of Switzerland. With the same sincerity she holds out the hand of fellowship to the United Church of Baden, to the Lutherans of Wurtemberg and of Alsace, and to her reformed confederates. The love of the kingdom of God, in the true sense of the word, equally removed from confessional narrowness and religious latitudinarianism, predominates there. A city is not to be found in the whole world, in which less importance is attached to a "surname," or more importance to a decisive "name." Basle is pre-eminently the centre of every good work of Christian charity; she is no stranger to any enterprise undertaken in favour of the great interests of the Gospel. Every new want, as well as those of ancient date, demanding constant solicitude, is sure to find, in Basle, hearts willing to give, and generous hands ready to lay up treasure in heaven, and to "make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness."

Zurich still preserves a large share of the old spirit of Zwingle; it is not without reason that she is often called the Athens of Switzerland. She seeks her glory in the cultivation of the intellect, in what is called liberalism and progress. She surpasses all the rest of Switzerland in the field of literary activity, and attaches more importance to science than the western cantons; in this respect showing a marked preference for the Germans, properly so called. Every question demanding a solution is thoroughly analysed. Her Church appears to be well organized, even to minute details, from the Church and State point of view as well as from that of a wise administration. She loves greatly to be intimately associated with all general, social, and humanitarian interests. At the present time, even, the rationalist pastors, whose number is, however, much reduced, are favourably looked upon by the people, as representing the calm reason of Zurich in matters of religion.

The other eastern cantons, although the same in their fundamental tendencies, show themselves somewhat independent of Zurich;—the result of political changes. *Glaris*, *St. Gall*, and *Appenzell* are distinguished by their flourishing manufactories. The *Grisons*, where each parish enjoys a certain independence,

manifest a remarkable disposition for emigration. Although presenting a notable difference, all these cantons resemble each other in having clung, almost without an alteration, to ancient usages. In tracing this general survey, we must not pass by *Berne,* which possesses of late a few French parishes in the Jura. Her central position has remained about the same as it formerly was. She calmly examines the questions discussed by the eastern and western cantons, by the Germans, and by the French. She elaborates them without making a noise, and generally with much prudence, carefully following her own traditions, without minding what is done elsewhere. She does not go before, neither does she remain behind, but tries to keep the middle path. *Argovia,* finally, has been so much engaged, since her emancipation, on her political and civil organization and confessional complications, that she has not been able, in ecclesiastical affairs, to get beyond what she received from Berne.

On the whole, the ecclesiastical Christian principle of the country has preserved the stamp of the Reformation in matters of doctrine, worship, and religious ethics; and the religious views of the bulk of the people have also the same character. Let a person go where he may, he will be convinced that he is treading on the ground of the Reformation. We do not intend to deny that the otherwise fixed character of the Reformation has not been considerably tempered, often even blunted, by the levelling tendency of our times, by the great change in religious opinions which has taken place within the last eighty years, and by the weakening of the common attachment to the Church which has been the necessary consequence. It cannot be contested, above all, that throughout Switzerland, narrowness and exclusiveism in matters of confession have disappeared. In face of a larger population, standing in need of life and salvation, believers think little of the confession and its dusty documents, but they search all the more the eternal Word of God and its contents. In one word, they care little for the church as an exterior organization, and its rights secured by treaties; but they are the more warmly interested in the kingdom of God, its wants and its future.

The religious and moral condition of Switzerland is not, in general, below that of most other countries. The great majority of the people believe in God, the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth; in Jesus Christ, His only Son, in the Judgment, and

in eternal life. It is, however, equally true, that our religious situation is not such as to allow of self-felicitations; and, if the balance of the sanctuary be applied to it, there is, on the contrary, much to humble us, and to call to repentance.

It is impossible to explain the present religious and moral state of Switzerland, without referring to the influence which Radicalism has exercised. Its advocates laboured with a fanatic zeal to destroy the principles on which the State was founded, and to excite the lower against the higher classes. They sowed the seeds of disruption in the family, undermined parental authority, and so brutalised the minds of the people, that at length authority of every kind almost disappeared. The Church especially, as being the last barrier to the success of their system, was vigorously attacked. Her ministers and doctrines were constantly calumniated and insulted. The fundamental truths of religion were assailed as being nothing but lies and inventions of the clergy. Schoolmasters were excited against the ministers of the Gospel. The churches were deserted, especially by the young men who were found in taverns and public-houses. The sanctification of the Lord's-day was systematically destroyed. Legislators chose the Sunday for the numerous political elections which took place, and the people for their popular festivals and public meetings. Morals became more and more depraved to a frightful extent; crimes were multiplied, prisons crowded, and a general disquietude prevailed. This deplorable state of things reached its culminating point from 1845 to 1850. The condition of Switzerland at that period was such as to warrant the application of that text: "In those days there was no king in Israel; but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." It is entirely owing to the grace of God that the sound sense of the Swiss was not entirely destroyed, and that demoralisation did not reach its extreme limits. The bad tree has, however, produced much bad and bitter fruit, which has not yet disappeared. We cannot enumerate all; but we must not pass over one, and that is, the misery of the poor. A state of *pauperism* has ensued, well calculated to cause very serious apprehensions in a country the constitution of which is democratical. As the moral and religious character of the people fell, selfishness succeeded in removing the legal barriers which a wiser generation had raised. The thirst for pleasure, luxury, and dissipation rapidly increased, and the misery of the people

kept pace with it. The great evil is, that the majority of the poor are almost isolated from society in general as well as from the Church. They form a caste apart; and their sufferings dispose them to lend a willing ear to the doctrines of infidelity, to destroy among themselves all domestic life, to commit crime, and even suicide. It is almost impossible to rescue them from this state of degradation. Immense sums of money have already been sunk in this bottomless abyss of Swiss pauperism. Up to the present day, no effort of government, nor of the parish, nor of private society, has been successful, either in raising them morally, or in helping them materially. Undertaken oftentimes without a knowledge of the real seat of the disease, from necessity, rather than from love to Christ, these attempts against pauperism have turned out rather in favour of poverty than of the poor, and have neither been agreeable to God nor have presaged a better future.

Since 1850 this state of things has, however, somewhat changed. This amelioration we are disposed to attribute to those chastisements of God which Switzerland has brought on herself by her serious errors. The Lord has graciously spared her, and dealt with her in a most merciful manner; yet He has chastened her very severely. It might have been said at one time that the threatening of Scripture was about to be fulfilled: "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them." Political revolutions have endangered successively the existence of most of the cantons, and have caused, generally, boundless confusion, by the division of the country into two hostile camps, and the horrors of civil war have not been escaped. For ten years, the blessings she had been accustomed to enjoy, quitted her fields, and barrenness replaced it. Switzerland also felt the effect of the painful political events and commercial crisis of Europe. The epidemic which, as a destroying angel, ravaged neighbouring countries with an irresistible power, passed near her frontiers, but only knocked at the door to warn us. These trials, although not sufficient to bring the masses to repentance, have not been entirely in vain. Many acknowledged that we were smitten because of our sins. A larger number of persons have begun to understand that such a state of things could not last long. This general affliction has brought the minds of the people to serious reflection. Political passions have grown calmer; yet the present position is not

normal. Instead of lifting their eyes to the hills, whence cometh help, the masses are looking towards the earth, which they see trembling; they are trusting in an arm of flesh, and not in God. In place of praying, believing, and hoping, they spend their strength in vain complaints of bad times. The majority live under the powerful influences of indifferentism as to the Church, Christianity, religion, and everything connected with the higher spiritual interests of our generation; their minds are given up to materialism; and they ask only to possess the world, its pleasures, and its splendours. They are self-righteous also, and seek only an outwardly honourable life. These are the powerful bonds by which they are held, while they are strangers to an Evangelical life, and to the spirit of Christ.

It must not be concealed that Reformed Switzerland has nothing wherein to glory. Nowhere do we see, to any extent, that "glorious Church without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but holy and without blame."

Thanks be unto God, however, that there is also in Switzerland a spirit of seriousness mingled with fear in the midst of threatening dangers; an air of Pentecost after a severe winter, and the storms of March; a revival, with some, after a long sleep; with others, a halt, as if they were about to turn from their evil paths; whilst many persevere faithfully in the truth.

These manifestations, however, of a Christian spirit would be of no worth if they did not cause a positive reaction against the state of degeneracy of which we have spoken; and it is of this reaction that we have, in the last place, to speak.

The ecclesiastical constitution of the Reformed cantons (to begin with that) is synodal, mixed, in some cases, with clerical and consistorial elements; in others, with presbyterial. Latterly there has been a stronger tendency towards Presbyterianism, owing to the influence of circumstances which, on the one hand, prevented the entire separation of Church and State, and, on the other, the absorption of all ecclesiastical elements in political life. There are mixed synods, not only in the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, but also in Glaris, Neufchatel, Berne, Thurgovia, and in the district of Morat, a part of Fribourg. Basle-Campagne is on the point of having one. In the Grisons, the subject of introducing the Presbyterian system has been zealously discussed. Every parish has, under different

designations, its *college of elders*. A certain number of parishes —in some places larger, in others smaller—are represented by classes or district-synods, the dean being the president. The union of these classes forms the general or cantonal synod, differently composed in the different cantons. An ecclesiastical council, or some analogous body, forms, as the supreme authority of the Church, the link between the Government and the cantonal synod. There is no organized or legal union existing between the different cantonal synods. There is no supreme authority for the whole of the Reformed Church, nor general synod for Switzerland, nor reciprocal delegations legally appointed from synod to synod. The reports and resolutions of importance are, however, regularly and interchangeably communicated by the different synods; and what is wanting in an organized general union is made less by the annual meeting of the "Society of Swiss Preachers," in which, last year, there were 771 members. Without having any official character, this assembly contributes very powerfully to quicken and preserve, in the minds of its members, the feeling of united responsibility, by the interchange of ideas and the numerous personal relations which it establishes between all the ministeries of Switzerland. Although the synods perform their functions with a certain tardiness, they are neither inactive nor profitless. Their most useful labours, during the past few years, have been employed in perfecting the ecclesiastical organization and the Church Services. Those of Berne, Zurich, Appenzell, St. Gall, and the Grisons, have brought out new liturgies, or rather have arranged the old ones, so as to make them more suitable to the wants of the age. The synod of Berne has published a liturgy, accompanied by a guide, for the chaplains of the army. On the other side, the two Churches of the Canton de Vaud decided, not long since, to revise theirs. The preparation of new catechisms presents greater difficulties. For, in proportion as the ancient system of Reformed doctrines has yielded to the pressure of modern civilization, the old catechisms have become, in more than one place, a burden, and are no longer used. For this reason, first in Argovia, then in Zurich, and lastly in St. Gall, efforts have been made to compose catechisms, exhibiting a general statement of Christian doctrines, in language at once simple and scriptural. We abstain from expressing an opinion whether the problem has been satisfactorily solved, and whether the expe-

rience acquired is such as should induce other synods to follow in the same steps. It may be sufficient to state that the new catechisms have not been able always to dislodge the old ones, and that where they are employed, they are mostly used together.

The hymn-books have also been revised; and, besides a selection of Psalms, some of Luther's and Gerhard's hymns have been added, following the old spirit of union, to the great edification of the Church. May God give the Church the realization of the hopes which the synods found on this selection of hymns! May they contribute to refresh our hearts, quicken our worship, and establish and fortify our parishes in our holy faith!

If, in our examination, we pass on to the pastors, the immediate organs and ministers of the Church, we are constrained to avow that, with the power of the Holy Spirit, they could have offered a more effectual resistance to the religious, ecclesiastical, and moral declension. We cannot defend them against all accusations of this kind; but we must not be unjust. It is doubtful whether the clergy of any other country would, in like circumstances, have obtained better results. Our clergy need not fear a comparison with any other social body in relation to the subjects of instruction and morality. As to theology, the old rationalism has but few disciples among the pastors of our Churches, and the partisans of the modern speculative rationalism of the school of Hegel are not many. The large majority of the young ministers embrace the modern theology of Neander, Julius Müller, and Nitzsch; and the number of old ministers who join their ranks is continually increasing. A portion of the French ministers, especially those of Geneva and Neufchatel, are well acquainted with the theological literature of Germany.

The preaching of the German Swiss ministers is quite equal, as far as doctrine is concerned, to that of the clergy in Germany; but it is a shade less dogmatical and less contemplative, dealing more with realities. In general, it is less elevated, and more sober in its efforts to exhibit morality in its true connexion with spiritual life. The preaching of the French-Swiss ministers, on the other hand, has lost much of its former pathos; and this has been replaced by a more familiar form of address, resembling that of the homily—a form adopted, no doubt, through the influence of the Conferences which have been held, and which are very popular in the country. Perhaps *the cure of souls* might be

discharged by most of the pastors more efficiently and more satisfactorily than it is. It must not be forgotten, however, that the exercise of this duty has to encounter more than ordinary difficulties, owing to the prolonged neglect of this important part of the pastoral office, and of the avowed distrust manifested towards those who are invested with it. Notwithstanding all, the parishes are disposed to accept the new state of things; they perceive the responsibility of the pastoral functions, and they know how to appreciate the devoted zeal of their pastors. They rally round them with much more boldness and sincerity than could have been expected a few years ago; although their esteem is elicited less by the dignity of the office than by the personal talent with which they see the duties it imposes discharged.

It will be proper to say a word on the scholastic body and the schools, as they everywhere exercise an incalculable influence on the rising generation, and through them, on the future history of the country. But it will be difficult to particularise that influence in a succinct manner; and we cannot attribute to it any great importance in reference to the regeneration of the people. The object aimed at in the primary schools of the present day, is to enable the children to become useful men and citizens. Consequently we may expect, from those establishments, progress in civilisation; but this is not all that we consider salutary.

In addition to the efforts put forth by the official organs for the regeneration of the religious state of the people, a great number of voluntary meetings have been held by private individuals, in which their zeal for the cause of Christ has been testified in special works of Christian charity. This field is so extensive that it is difficult to speak of it without entering too much into details. Shall I mention the names of the fifty establishments founded in Switzerland for the education of the forsaken or neglected children of both sexes; and in which they are taught that salvation is alone by grace through Jesus Christ? Shall I speak of the Normal School at Beuggen, near Basle, in which schoolmasters are trained for the poor; or of a similar institution, founded in a spirit strictly Christian, and independent of the state, at Schiers, in the Grisons; or of the seminaries for theological students at Basle and at Zurich; or of the establishment at Ernthalden (Basle-Campagne) for the training of servants; or of the Asylum for Old Men at Iverdun (Canton

de Vaud); or of the Society for Protestant servants at Geneva, with its Refuge, which counts more than 900 members; or of the Young Mens' Christian Associations of Geneva, of Lausanne, of Berne, and of other parishes in the Jura; or of reading-rooms, well attended by workmen, apprentices, and young boys, principally at Basle, Zurich, and Geneva; of the Institution of Deaconesses, at St. Loup, in the Canton de Vaud, and at Richen, near Basle; or of the Institution for the Education of Missionary Artisans, at Chrischona, and also near Basle, with many others? Shall I also mention what is undertaken by pious females, in special and numberless associations for the relieving of human misery, for the consolation and aid of the sick; all of which is done for the glory of Him who is the strength of the weak, and with a Christian charity which is full of self-denial? Mention also might be made of the tract societies and religious reading-rooms, the extent and importance of which increase daily; and among these, of that in the small town of Bienne, for instance, which distributes 150 volumes every Sunday. We have, besides, our Bible societies in the different cantons; that of Berne, in particular, which has 160 depôts in the country; that of Basle, which has printed the Bible in German, Hebrew, and Malay, and the New Testament in modern Greek and in the Tooloo tongue. We can also refer to our Evangelical societies, pre-eminently supplying the agency for propagating the knowledge of the truth, and promoting Christian life. And of these the most important is that at Geneva, with its Theological Seminary, and extensive system of colportage and evangelization, both at home and abroad. It has twenty-seven agents labouring in France, and at its last annual meeting reported a deficit of 30,000 francs (£1,200).* There is, moreover, a large field of evangelization cultivated by societies auxiliary to the Protestant Church, spread all over the Reformed cantons, the central society of which is at Basle. About £1,500 are spent annually by these societies in maintaining and reviving spiritual life among Protestants in Roman Catholic countries. One-third of this amount is expended in Switzerland, and two-thirds in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, and North America. There are also at Geneva a society for Protestants "scattered abroad," and one for Protestant interests, directing its efforts specially to Protestantism

* This amount was made up a few days after the meeting.

in that city; striving to keep the banner of truth unfurled, and to plant it even in the enemy's camp, by means of an evangelical proselytism. In speaking of that work, which is the most popular of all the efforts to propagate the truth, and to spread the knowledge of the name of Jesus among those who sit in darkness, and in the valley of the shadow of death, we must name the Mission-house of Basle, to which it is owing that an ever-increasing number of persons take an interest in missions; and that prejudices against missionary work, which a short time since were still very strong, have at last disappeared.

The periodical religious literature of Switzerland occupies but a small space compared with the unexampled and exceptional political publications of the country. This is no evil; for there is not a single real want that does not find expression. Thus, the *Feuille Ecclesiastique pour la Suisse Reformée*, edited by Dr. Hagenbach, the design of which is to inform the Reformed cantons of everything of importance, is the organ of the Society of Swiss Preachers. The *Avenir* may be considered as the organ of that part of the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud which adopts the principle of separation of Church and State. Other publications have the work of edification specially in view. Such are the *Mittheilungs Blatt*, of the Evangelical Society of Zurich; the *Chrétien*, edited by Rev. C. De Rodt, of Berne; the *Messager du Peuple Chrétien*, of Basle, through whose editor more than £1,600 are annually sent to different Christian and philanthropic institutions; the *Feuille Religieuse*, which has been published for thirty years past; the *Semaine Religieuse*, and the *Ami de l'Evangile*. Protestantism, as the antagonist of Romanism, has the *Vrai Protestant* of Dr. Marriott, of Basle—an outspoken publication both for attack and defence; the *Journal Trimestriel pour le Peuple des Grisons Réformés*, of Léonhardi; and the *Semeur Genevois*. Among the missionary magazines, the *Magasin des Missions de Bâle*, edited by the Inspector of the Mission-house, occupies the first rank. All these publications, which for the most part are written for the middle and poorer classes, are of a decidedly Christian character. The principal theological and ecclesiastical publications of France and Germany are generally read by the ministers of the Gospel. It is much to be desired that the political press would lend its aid more than it does to rekindle a Christian spirit and a zeal for the Church. But it often happens that those who are qualified

for such a work have little leisure; yet we would reiterate and insist upon the fact, that if in our time the Gospel and the Church are to regain general confidence, it is indispensable that they should be frequently brought before the public both by the pulpit and by the press.

We are, at length, arrived at the end of our Report. Although incomplete and insufficient, it may serve to awaken an interest among other Churches for their younger sister in Switzerland. Her religious aspect is still dark, but not sufficiently so to occasion despair. There are more persons at present, than in many past epochs, willing to receive the Gospel. But we must confess that we do not yet perceive the daybreak of that morning which we have been seeking by prayer. The twilight which follows the night is still spread over our mountains and our valleys. But we hope there is behind that grey and dim glimmering the morning breath of the great day of our God and Saviour. "Behold, now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." This is what He who will save us appears to be again saying to us. Therefore, brethren, you who understand these words—"Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it"—remember your feeble sister every time you pray, "Thy kingdom come." Speak, dear brethren, in accents calculated to penetrate the heart of every Swiss. Say, "O country, thou whose banners bear the cross, if thou seekest for peace and glory in these solemn times of Divine wrath and mercy, embrace the Cross of Christ; it only can secure to you those heavenly blessings. O people, who take pleasure in boasting of your liberty, whenever you shall appear in the great concourse of nations, your liberty will not shine forth as a reality unless you accept it at the hands of the Son of God; for liberty dwells only where there is the Spirit of God." May He be with us all. Amen.

A second paper was read by Pastor Oschwald, of Monthalen, in the Canton of Zurich, which necessarily, as the French Editor remarks, reproduced many of the details already given. This circumstance, and a proper desire not to render the present volume inconveniently large, must form our apology, as it forms his also, for omitting it.

Pastor Rivier, Sen., also supplemented M. Guder's report, by communicating some particulars relating to the Free Church

of the Canton De Vaud. The facts he stated were those which have already been given to the public in the Paper of the late Rev. C. Baup, read at the London Conference in 1851, and which will be found in the "Religious Condition of Christendom," p. 533. M. Adrien Naville added a short statement, respecting the Evangelical Society of Geneva.

The President of the meeting, Count de St. George, read a letter from the Rev. Dr. Merle D'Aubigne, expressing his regret that he had been unable to prepare a paper which he had been requested to write on Popery in Switzerland, in consequence of a severe domestic bereavement; and that the same cause prevented his attending the Conference.

About thirty Swiss brethren were presented to the assembly, and received its salutations through the Rev. M. Descombaz.

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GERMANIC NATIONS.

HOLLAND.

ITS RELIGIOUS STATE.

BY THE REV. M. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE,

PASTOR OF THE WALLON CHURCH AT LEYDEN.

August 25, Evening.—Taitbout Chapel.

It is not without hesitation, and even a certain anxiety, that I rise to address you. The task appointed to me has peculiar difficulties, and had I not believed that the confidence placed in me by my brethren was an indication of the Lord's will, I could not have undertaken the business. The difficulties that I feel in representing the Church to which I belong, do not entirely arise from the circumstance that it seems at the present time to have reached a crisis, the results of which cannot be foreseen, if even its nature is fully understood. For what Church is not in a similar state? Is not the Church of Christ at large in one of the most critical phases through which it has ever been called to pass? The Church of the Netherlands belongs to the age; we take part in the struggle; but the too great ardour with which it is carried on renders impartiality difficult, especially to one who is called personally to take part in it. This is the principal cause of my hesitation and embarrassment. The ardour of the struggle is explained as much by the extent of the country as by the national character. You will be astonished, perhaps, to hear me assert that the national character is one cause of the ardour of the struggle. Has not the "phlegmatic Dutchman" become a proverb? But if it is remembered that Holland is, perhaps, the only country in Europe which owes its national independence to the religious movement of the sixteenth century; and that, perhaps, there is not another nation in which religious questions have so much predominated over, and modified all the

social relations, and other interests of the country, it will occasion no surprise that the earnestness which in other countries is devoted to the discussion of political and social affairs, is, in Holland, directed to matters of a religious, or rather of an ecclesiastical nature. A celebrated statesman, who for a long time was the life of the Dutch Government, once said concerning the capital of the country, that its pulse was feeble. If this expression is applicable to the whole nation in a political sense, and especially to the Protestant part, it is not so in an ecclesiastical sense. Such being the state of the case, I feel the need of declaring, at the commencement of my remarks, that I alone am responsible for them. I shall not attempt an impossible partiality, which consists in treating one's views and sentiments, and even one's personality as abstractions, and of being altogether above parties, but shall aim at that just impartiality which appreciates facts by the light of eternal truth received by faith. I know that my views are not those of the majority of my countrymen ; and I have not sufficient confidence in myself nor in my views to pretend to be the organ of my country.

Another cause of my hesitation is, the isolated position of Holland. Our language separates us from Europe. Beyond our frontiers, it is scarcely known that there is a Dutch language. If there are any persons who pay attention to it, they do so exclusively with a scientific object. Yet everything, especially what relates to the Church, is discussed in the Dutch language. Who, then, can know what is passing among us ? If it be said that the French, German, and English public know everything that occurs, both in politics and religion, in the whole of Europe, because the languages of those countries are so generally understood, we must, perhaps, except two nations—the largest and the smallest—Russia and the Netherlands. This greatly increases the difficulty of my task. It is not a well-known country that I have to introduce to your notice. I need the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and implore His aid.

I commence my report by examining a statement widely spread, out of Holland, but which in that country is contested by a large number of persons. Among countries decidedly Protestant, Holland is generally placed in the first rank. If, indeed, a country is to be judged by its origin, its history, its glories, and its strength, then there is not a more Protestant country than Holland. The two centuries most glorious to the

nation were the most glorious centuries of her Protestantism. But the fact is contested by those who judge of a country by its population, for two-fifths of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics. Two provinces out of the eleven are chiefly Roman Catholic, and of the nine remaining there are two or three almost exclusively Protestant; the Romanists form a considerable minority in all the rest, and their prosperity is sufficiently great to warrant the assertion that the Roman Catholic element powerfully modifies the public spirit, and forms one of the constituents in public opinion. Instead of "Roman Catholic" element, I might more properly have said *ultramontane;* and this makes it preponderate the more; for there has not yet been seen in Holland, as in other countries, in the bosom of Roman Catholicism itself, a reaction of the national and Christian mind against the usurpations of the hierarchy. Several causes prevent such a spirit from appearing. In the first place, the interests of a minority who feel their need of union against the majority. Then the most glorious antecedents of the country being connected with Protestantism, do not call forth the sympathies of the Roman Catholic as they do those of the Protestant population. It must be remarked that the two Roman Catholic provinces of which I have spoken were not formerly represented in the General States, but were governed by the other provinces under the title of the "county district." It must also be observed that at the time when the Reformed Church was dominant, the Roman Catholics, always numerous in the United Provinces, were excluded from all participation in the Government, and their worship, although tolerated, was not acknowledged. It will be easily understood, from these facts, that the patriotism of the Roman Catholics does not attach itself to the recollections of the Protestant Holland of those three centuries during which the United Provinces formed an independent State, but to those of the Netherlands of the Middle Ages, of the times, that is, when the country was governed by Dukes and Counts as vassals of the Empire. A third reason for the absence of all opposition to ultramontane pretensions is, that in consequence of this state of dependence and pupilage, which lasted for centuries, the Roman Catholic population is still, for the most part, in a certain condition of intellectual inferiority, which, however, is beginning to pass away. These causes will explain sufficiently the ultramontane character of Dutch Roman Catholicism, and the absence of all national reaction against Rome.

But there is yet more. By that power of equilibrium which may be called the Nemesis of history, a powerful reaction has taken place against the Protestant character of the country. The revival of Catholicism in Holland has perhaps, more than in any other country, an anti-Protestant, and by that means an anti-national, character. The motto of one of the Romanist organs in Holland, "*Vindicamus hereditatem patrum nostrorum*" (We lay claim to the patrimony of our fathers), correctly expresses the pretensions and hopes of this party. These pretensions and hopes were, perhaps, openly avowed too soon for their success. The anti-Papal movement, as you call it, of 1853, called in Holland the April movement, and which resounded beyond the limits of the country, having called forth letters of sympathy, addressed to the Church of Holland, from the Company of Pastors of Geneva, and the Synod of the Established Church in Scotland, was provoked less by the setting up itself of the Episcopal jurisdictions than by the manner in which this was done. The Pope's language appeared to suppose that the history of Holland was closed, and that the country was returning, after three centuries of error, to the old paths of the middle age. The country was again divided into dioceses; the titles of Archbishop of Utrecht, Bishop of Haarlem, Bishop of Breda, &c., were revived, and are now acknowledged by the Government. Have these pretensions, these hopes any future? Have they any support in the position and social state of the country? Here I tread on slippery ground—that of the relations of Church and State. I intend only to state facts.

I do not hesitate to assert, as my profound conviction, that the system of State Churches, by which I understand not of nationalism, but that of the domination of the Church over the State, has had its day. But with the renunciation of that system, Protestantism enters into a second phase, and one much more glorious, if it comprehend its vocation. Supported hitherto by the State, it must henceforward support the State, which is being undermined by revolutionary ideas. These ideas, which would compel religion to confine its activity to the individual conscience, or, at most, to public worship, and refuse to recognise any place as belonging to it in questions of politics or of social order, are widely spread in Holland, although in a mitigated form. One example may suffice. The school—that nursery of the Church and of the State—is separated from the Church, not

only materially, but morally. Not only is the school no longer an institution of the Church—the Church has not even a voice in the school. The organic law which regulates primary instruction in Holland, bears the impress of the ideas which prevailed in the country at the commencement of the century. The Protestant traditions of the country were mixed up most intimately, without the incompatibility of such a proceeding being perceived with the new views, which under the name of Rationalism in Germany and Liberalism in France, deny original sin, and tend to substitute faith in humanity for faith in God.* In 1806, when this law was passed, no person in Holland believed in that recandescence of Popery which is now visible, and the incompatibility of Rationalism with Christian principles was not perceived. The law, starting on the principle of the indissoluble union of education and instruction, demanded that the school should form the youth *to all social and Christian virtues.* These terms are sufficiently vague to allow of many systems finding refuge under them. Beneath the same standard, the Christian teacher, who knows what Christian virtue is, can inculcate Evangelical truths, use the Bible, and infuse into the whole of his instructions a truly Christian spirit; the Rationalist teacher, who can perceive no difference between Christian and social virtues, or who considers the latter as a necessary preparation for the former, can overthrow Christian doctrines as being speculative and barren; and the traditional routiner will try to associate the two principles, and use the Bible only as a book containing examples of social and Christian virtues. Thus I may safely affirm that this system (if that which is the absence of all system can be so called) produces the fruits which might be naturally expected. Good, much good, perhaps, has been accomplished under the rule of this law, by pious and faithful schoolmasters; but notwithstanding that there have always been pastors in the directing commission, the school has been considered as separated from the Church, or, at least, as having no necessary connexion with it. Virtue being thus put in the place of the truth, and the Church exercising no control over the school, what do I say? Why, that the Church herself (as we have discovered too late), abandoning the defence of this post,

* There is, as we think, a serious error here, at least in the terms, as far as France is concerned. The writer of the report confounds Liberalism with Communism and Socialism.—FRENCH EDITOR.

and yielding to this system of morality without an Evangelical basis, has familiarised herself to the idea of Christian and social virtues, in the total absence of Christian doctrines. Under the dissolvent action, slow but sure, of such views, the principle of the law of 1806, without much commotion or contradiction, has been modified by the Royal decree of 1842 in such a manner, as in reality destroys it. The opposition of the Roman Catholics to a system which, they said, tended to Protestantise the Roman Catholic youth, united with the opposition of many Protestants, induced the deceased King William II., through that spirit of equity and justice which characterised him, to remove from the school whatever might wound either of the existing religious communities. In order to this end, he gave to the clergy of the different communions the right of inspection and of complaint, and obliged the school commission to attend to all well-founded objections. The King further recommended that, out of school, a few hours should be especially devoted to religious instruction; but, in general, this was little attended to. Notwithstanding the good intentions and noble motives which induced this measure, it did not the less complete the rupture between Church and State, and definitively proclaimed the principle of an Atheistic school. The fruits of this system appear to have condemned it; there is but one voice among competent men, even among the most ardent advocates of the law of 1806, and of mixed schools, and it is in condemnation of Atheistical schools. If there still remain a large number who advocate mixed schools, it is because they entertain the hope—illusory, in my opinion—that Protestants and Roman Catholics may unite in a Christianity inoffensive to the one or the other; and, in a morality which can lay aside the asperities of doctrine without denying the power of the Gospel. In addition to this, they fear (a fear, alas! very general in Holland, and which blinds many a mind otherwise well-disposed), that in yielding to the demands of the orthodox party, they will lose all the advantages they have acquired during half a century, and sacrifice all the light and progress in which they glory. In the meantime, it may be seen what danger results to Protestantism in Holland from a system which eliminates from all primary instruction, not only Christian doctrine itself, but every consideration which has regard to it. How can even social virtues themselves, among which patriotism must occupy a commanding place, be excited,

when the history of the country cannot be considered in its Protestant point of view, especially the history of those eighty years of war with Spain, the results of which were the independence and glory of the United Provinces? But if infidelity and irreligion everywhere and always end in superstition, it may be understood that the hopes of the ultramontane party are founded upon the destruction of the Protestant principles and history of the country. This state of things cannot possibly last long. Already there is a universal complaint of the disorganisation of primary instruction. But is there any hope that other means of satisfying all parties will be adopted than that of taking away what all have need of, and what all demand? According to the revised fundamental law, a new organic law on education ought to have been passed six years ago. Three Ministers have been in office since then. The first failed in the effort, the second did not attempt it, and the third has little chance of seeing his project accepted. The country will not have Atheistical schools; nor would separate schools, according to the different confessions, be more favourably received, for fear of promoting obscuration and intolerance. It will be as impossible to find a middle term as to find the philosopher's stone.

In speaking of primary instruction, I have already touched on the ecclesiastical question. There are different Christian institutions or communities in Holland. I have spoken of Catholicism. The Christian and non-Catholic population is divided into many denominations, which it is important to specify. The large majority, the half of the population of the whole country, belong to the Reformed Church. This Church, the ancient State Church, may be called the National Church. At least, the Reformed type essentially characterises Dutch Protestantism.

The Lutheran community, although the most numerous of the smaller bodies, does not really modify the face of the country. It is a question to be examined, whether these two sister Churches can continue to exist simultaneously without the one more or less effacing or absorbing the other. I do not enter on such an examination, intending only to state facts; and, I do not fear being contradicted by my Dutch Lutheran brethren, when I assert as a fact, that, so far from Lutheranism in Holland modifying the Reformed character of the nation, it has, itself, been greatly modified by that; and that, if there are among the Lu-

therans, those who hold the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism, they are not the majority. Their manner of worship so much resembles the simplicity of that of the Reformed Church, that a person may be present without perceiving that it is a Lutheran service. The foreign origin and the social position of the larger number of the members of this community, sufficiently explain this state of things.

To characterise the country, I must describe the influence and importance of another Christian community, less numerous, but more Dutch, and the members of which are generally in more affluent circumstances—I mean the Mennonites. This community is essentially Dutch. It sprung from the opposition which the Roman hierarchy had to encounter in the Middle Ages—an opposition of which Holland was one of the principal seats. It is the monument of a Protestantism anterior to Protestantism; of a movement which has been in a great measure absorbed by the Reformation, but not entirely so, as the existence of the denomination proves. Those Mennonites who are most attached to their origin do not like to be called Protestants, and if this word be taken only in its historical meaning, it must be confessed that it is not properly applicable to them. I believe I am right in stating that the ecclesiastical and dogmatical views of Calvinism have not their sympathies. The mysticism of the Middle Ages, in its opposition to Calvinism, was generally opposed to the idea of a Church; and was satisfied with free associations. The different communities of the Mennonites in Holland have not united in one body; they exist as separate Churches, even when there are several communities in one locality. It is only since the commencement of the present century that these different Churches have been united among themselves, and that in a very broad manner, by a common seminary for the education of their ministry, and by a society the nature of which is purely administrative. Within the last few years they have also formed a Missionary Society. The mysticism of the Middle Ages, elsewhere more speculative or more dogmatical, was marked in Holland by its essentially practical tendency. The Mennonites in Holland did not adopt the dogmatical development of the Reformation; they made Christianity to consist principally, if not exclusively, in the life, not always perceiving the bond which unites Christian life with Christian truth. This double character of ecclesiastical independency and dogmatical indifference ex-

plains why this community has no confession of faith, nor an ecclesiastical organisation to oppose to the dissolvent influence of Rationalism.

The Reformed Church herself is not purely and simply Calvinistic, either in her origin or in her development. The two dispositions which have been mentioned as characterising the Mennonite community, ecclesiastical independence and dogmatical indifference, are too intimately connected with the national spirit, and have been too much favoured by the national history, to be confined to the Mennonite body. There is in the national character a certain individualism which altogether rejects the idea of *solidarity*, and which hinders all union. This individuality flourished under the Republicanism which it helped to form. The united provinces were only united in times of danger and foreign aggression. At other times they lived in constant disunion; each province aspired to a sovereignty which rendered it independent of the rest; and in each province the towns manifested the same spirit. If, therefore, the national synod held at Dort in 1618 and 1619 has not been followed by other synods, it is to be attributed not simply to the fears of political men who have apprehended some encroachment on the part of the Church, but also, and, for the greater part, to the absence of any feeling of the need of communion. Ever since the Synod of Dort, a great measure of independence has been exercised by each community with regard to ecclesiastical rule; for the provincial synods which have been regularly held have never interfered with the liberty of any parish in its special organisation. The common bond has been the maintenance of the common doctrine; and this has been the principal, if not the sole object of ecclesiastical discipline. The national character may be named as one of the reasons why Calvinistic doctrines have the preponderance in Holland over those of Lutheranism. Calvinistic doctrines have, however, met with opposition in the country more among the middle classes than among the aristocracy, or the lower classes. This opposition took the form of Arminianism, and was rather stifled than vanquished by the Synod of Dort. The small body of Remonstrants is the visible fruit of that proceeding.

I ought to speak here of the Groningen school, well known by name, but, in reality, little known, especially in its connexion with the historical character of the country. Able only to

characterise it in general terms, I refer for ampler details to a work recently printed in the French language, and sent to different Protestant corporations; I speak of a report, more or less of an official character, upon the state of Holland, made by the Wallon Commission for Foreign Churches. Without going far into particulars, which will be found in the document referred to, I remark that the Groningen school is distinguished less by its doctrines, than by the absence of doctrine, by which I mean the denial of the religious value of doctrines. It has gone so far as to assert, and this is the inevitable consequence of its principles, that the Church cannot have, and ought not to have any doctrine. Its principle is purely practical, and is that of education. It considers Jesus Christ as essentially the Educator of the human race, who came at the epoch when humanity emerged from its childhood, during which it had been subjected to an education under law or tutelage, and was prepared to receive the Educator himself. By this system, if it may be so called, the line of demarcation between the different confessions is destroyed, and the confessional latitudinarianism produced by the dissolvent principles of the Rationalism and Liberalism of the eighteenth century is completely sanctioned and legitimated.

But, is the Calvinistic principle itself, which so prevailed in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, and to which all that is illustrious in the theology and in the social and political life of the country is attached, extinct? No; but in Holland, as elsewhere, it had been undermined by the ideas of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the present century found our Churches, as well as those of other countries, relaxed in doctrine and in discipline. The Calvinistic principle, or rather positive Christianity, the doctrines which we who are members and friends of the Evangelical Alliance profess, and which in Holland took the form of Calvinism, these ideas, these doctrines, were living in many hearts, and were quickened anew by that breathing from above which is called a revival, and which has also passed over Holland. From that moment, Rationalistic tendencies met with such an opposition among us, as to provoke the formation of a new system. As this opposition appealed to the formularies of our Reformed Church, to prove that she held exclusively Calvinistic doctrines, certain theologians felt the necessity of linking the new or liberal views, as they call them, to the historical traditions, in order to prove that they were the

continuation of the work of their forefathers. Hence a new school has arisen, which pretends to be both Reformed and Liberal at the same time. This school, whose seat is at Leyden, seems to promise more for the future than that of Groningen. Most of our young theologians join it. The need which is so generally felt of a system which can unite the new views and the old traditions of the Church, may explain in part the influence exercised by this new school, but much of it is due to the personal ascendancy of its author, Professor Scholten. I do not attempt to give you even a sketch of this system, as it would be abusing your patience. I refer, then, to the historical exposition of the Wallon Commission, of which I shall have the honour to deposit a copy in the office of the Conference, and will merely remark, that the partisans of the orthodox doctrines (to whom, however, Mr. Scholten refused the title) do not in any manner allow this system to be the exact exposition of their profession of faith.

The Groningen and Leyden theories are widely spread in Holland, and find favour with great numbers. The approbation, however, is far from being unanimous. The theological faculty at Utrecht, without combating the doctrines promulgated by the other theological faculties, treats the different points of theology in a more conservative spirit, and more in conformity with the doctrines exhibited in our confessions of faith. The qualified orthodoxy represented by it expresses without doubt the opinion of many persons, and, in particular, of a great many pastors who entered upon the Christian ministry before the above-named schools were founded. But the opposition to Rationalistic tendencies has its seat, above all, in the congregations themselves. In saying so, I have, at the same time, made it apparent how much there is in this opposition that is real and living, and in what it is defective. It was based from the beginning upon what I deem the only legitimate foundation—that of a confessional Church. I cannot here omit to mention the name of a man who has done himself great honour in our country. The indefatigable activity, both political and literary, of M. Groen van Prinsterer, formerly member of the States-General, but who lost his seat last year through a threefold opposition coming from the Roman Catholics, the political Liberals and the ecclesiastical Liberals, has contributed more than anything else to awaken conscience to the right of the congregations in relation

to the confession of the Church. Reclamations, having for their object the maintenance of the doctrine of the Church, have been addressed to the synod at different times and from many quarters, and more recently in 1854, on occasion of the nomination of two pastors at Amsterdam and the Hague. These pastors belonged, one to the Groningen school, and the other to the Leyden. Their nominations were opposed by many, but were sustained upon a final appeal by the ecclesiastical councils. The synod—a small body, and which owes its origin to the organization imposed upon the Church by the first King of the Netherlands, William I., in 1816—has more and more relaxed the confessional bond till I think I may say there is now a plenary liberty of instruction in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, and that it is impossible, in virtue of any regulations, to extrude a pastor on the ground of doctrine, unless, indeed, he should expressly deny that the grace of God has appeared by Jesus Christ.

I cannot refrain from mentioning the Christian life, the existence of which cannot be mistaken in the ranks of the opposition, and of which the opposition itself is an evidence, as a blessed proof of the reawakening of faith in our Church. To be just, it must be said that if we who have adopted the basis of the Evangelical Alliance, cannot allow the title of Christian except to those who are partakers of our faith, we must not conclude that all the religious and moral activity of Holland is found among us. Institutions exist among us of a date anterior to the present struggle, and which endeavour to keep themselves aloof from it, and for the most part successfully, being always composed of members belonging to different Christian communions and to both the Orthodox and Liberal parties. Such especially are the Bible and the Missionary Societies. Each of these reckons (I cite the report of the Wallon Commission) seven or eight hundred members, and receives from 60 to 90,000 florins (£5,000 to £7,500) per annum. Those societies also should be mentioned which are rather of a social than of a religious nature, and which oppose themselves to the encroachments of Rome upon the social territory. Another religious society arose out of the anti-Papal agitation of 1853, which is called (and its name well describes its character) the Evangelical Society for the Propagation of Truth and Piety among Roman Catholics. I may also mention the society whose object is the moral amelioration of prisoners, and that called The Society for General Useful-

ness. Of Mennonite origin, it has existed for seventy years, and is entirely of a Dutch character. I quote the following account of it from the Wallon Commission:—"Its aim is to labour more particularly among the inferior classes, and to further their progress in knowledge, morality, and piety according to the principles of the Christian religion. It publishes and widely circulates popular works on religious, historical, industrial, and scientific subjects. It has also organised, not only in towns, but even in many villages, evening meetings for reading, which are well attended. It was this society which gave the first energetic impulse to the improvement of primary instruction. The schools which it founded have furnished a model of the best system of teaching now in operation. The society does not increase the number of its schools, considering its object as attained. It is accused of a liberalism which borders on indifferentism and infidelity." If asked to point out the manifestations of Christian life in our Churches, I would refer chiefly to those special institutions which have for their object either the maintenance of the truth and the defence of the rights of Church members, and mutual edification, or above all, to those for spreading the Gospel and for Home and Foreign Missions. The institutions being mostly local, sometimes provincial, are consequently rather numerous, and it is not possible to give a special notice of each. Where there is a revival of religion, associations of this kind are sure to spring up. As an institution for general Evangelization, the Netherlands Protestant Evangelical Society may be named; founded and directed by Messrs. Elout van Soeterwoude and Dr. Capadose, both now present. Mention must also be made of meetings for public prayer, established in different parts of the country on behalf of the Jews.

One word more before I close, on the prospects of the Dutch Church. Doubtless the future is God's secret, and everything, absolutely everything in His Church depends on His blessing and free grace. But we are, nevertheless, allowed to seek for indications, which seem to announce that His blessing is at hand; the preparations in nature for the work of grace. We may be allowed to ask whether the general spirit of a nation, its character and habits, appear to furnish a favourable soil for the work of God. On this head, I am full of faith. I believe that God has not forsaken us; I believe He has purposed that we shall

have a part in the glory of His kingdom. Permit me, before I finish, to ask for your sympathy, your love, and your prayers for the country of which I have been speaking, and which is dear to all those who inhabit it. Protestantism was once the glory of Holland, and Holland was the glory of Protestantism. Oh that it may be so again! Remember us before the throne of grace. Fight with us. Let us strive together for the glory of God, and for the advancement of His kingdom.

[As at the conclusion of the paper on Belgium, prayer was offered for that country by a Wallon pastor, of Amsterdam; so when the foregoing paper was finished, prayer was offered for Holland, by the Rev. L. Anet, of Brussels.]

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF PROTESTANT GERMANY.

BY THE REV. PRELATE KAPFF,

STUTTGARD.

August 27, Morning.—Church of Redemption.

The religious condition of a nation amounting to forty millions, distinguished for mental activity, assumes many forms, and is chequered by manifold variety of colours. To describe it in forty-five minutes is a perfect impossibility, and I must beg for longer time. Even then, the most important points can only be touched. I feel myself in no wise equal to the undertaking, and only urgent and repeated requests could induce me to enter on it, and the wish to express my sympathy with the excellent Alliance which I have joyfully hailed since its origin as a means of effecting a higher unity and a more powerful position for our beloved Protestant Church, which may be thus brought nearer to her mission, that of becoming the Evangelical Catholic community of believers.

PART I.—HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

1. General Point of View.

The state of Germany half a century ago might be compared to a feeble dawn, in which only a few mountain tops were irradiated by the sun; now it may be compared to day, but still a day which is overcast by many lowering clouds: light has not penetrated into many hollows, and many houses have closed their windows, so that it is still night in their dwellings; clouds and vapours are ascending from the damp valleys, and give token of heavy storms before the close of day. Its general aspect may be learned from the word of prophecy, which proclaims the great and terrible day of the Lord, as a day of darkness and of strife. Still, *at evening tide it shall be light*, and then shall living waters flow forth from Jerusalem, and the Lord shall be king over all the earth, and all nations shall serve him with one accord. Without the comfort of this prophecy, which promises

a glorious victory for Christ's kingdom, the future of Germany would lie dark before us. The conflict of good and evil presents similar vicissitudes of fear and hope to what the course of the seasons has lately done, when, in the prevalence of wet or drought, of cold or heat, one week threatens a frightful barrenness; the next promises abundance: or, as for months and years, the counsels on war and peace have threatened a general commotion; in the next, the inclination of the balance has indicated peace. So he who watches the religious and moral life of Germany, if he looks only on the bright side, may indulge high hopes; but if he dwells on the many un-Christian aspects, he may indulge in desponding fear. The aspects of the present time, which justify us in speaking of a brighter day for Germany after its dreary dawn, are the great changes which have taken place in those who give the tone to, and are, the leaders of the people. The appearance of a city is determined not by the inferior houses, but by the conspicuous buildings, by its churches, its steeples, and public edifices, and by its gates; or that of a country, not by its flats, in which there may be much marshy ground, but by its hills and mountains and trees. So the spiritual aspect of a country is to be judged of principally by its elevations, not those which are external, but mental, and from which the most powerful influences stream down into the spirit of the people.

2. The falling away from the Spirit of the Reformation.

According to the point of view just indicated, the beginning of this century resembled a barren waste, in which only here and there stood an oasis with a few trees. This may appear incredible in a country which has been honoured of God to be the blessed Mother of the Reformation, by which a holy and glorious light shone upon the dark night of Europe, and which still exhibits lasting and indestructible germs of life among the German people. But the happy days, when the people turned to the Word of God as to the sun whose rays poured life over all, have been overcast by the dark clouds, of which the destructive effects showed themselves at the time, when, instead of a wholesome Reformation, the Revolutionary spirit prevailed, not merely against human arrangements, but chiefly against the word, laws, and authority of God.

Can it be denied that fifty years ago the greatest princes, thinkers, and poets of our country, embraced a Rationalism which

we may designate as a refined, antique heathenism, in which Christ was placed by the side of, or a little above, Zoroaster, Socrates, and Seneca? What Festus foolishly said to Paul—"Much learning hath made thee mad"—might be justly said to Germany: the great learning of thy philosophy and of thy one-sided classical education makes thee mad against the light from Bethlehem and Golgotha. The un-Christian brood hatched by Deism in England, by Materialism, Voltairism and Rousseauism, in France, under the influence of corrupt courts and a prevalent immorality, took hold of the German mind, to which it was especially recommended by the authority of Frederick the Great, with all the eagerness of curiosity, which is ever seeking new paths, and with the predisposition with which the natural man receives what is opposed to the Spirit of God.

English and French ears may be, perhaps, offended when a German derives from England and France the sources and beginnings of the Rationalism prevailing in Germany. But we must all bow to the decisions of History. What evil the influence of Voltaire over Frederick II. brought on our country, that king has himself indirectly acknowledged, when, towards the end of his life, he used the expression, "I would give my little finger if I could leave my country in the state I received it from my good father." Till the middle of the last century, the two chief elements of the religious life in Germany were orthodoxy and pietism. The former had, in many respects, become the frigid letter without the spirit, and controversial without love; while the latter had, by the predominance of feeling and fancy, in many of its representatives, become too overstrained and subjective, and for the multitude, too strict and serious. With these exceptions, the age of the Revolution, which burst upon us from France in 1789, and was characterised among us as the breaking loose of evil spirits, regarded the whole Christian faith as a fetter from which it was a duty to be emancipated.

3. A SHORT DELINEATION OF RATIONALISTIC THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Thus the revolutionary spirit in part, and partly the decaying influence of the old faith, appeared to give a perfect right to the formation of entirely new principles, on which they proceeded to adopt from Christianity only the most general religious ideas, as those of God, liberty, morality, immortality, and, on the other hand, to give up the specific truths of Christianity, as an accom-

modation to Judaism, and to hold that no account must be taken of a supernatural revelation, and of miracles especially, before the tribunal of reason. Thus a theology was formed which treated the Christian records in a way that no one had ventured to do with the writers of antiquity. It treated them like the boa-constrictor, which breaks all the bones of its victims and covers them with its slaver, in order to swallow them. The most reckless artifices of interpretation were employed to make Matthew, John, and Paul say something quite different from what they really say. The leading idea was to blot out all positive Christian truth, to destroy faith in the Son of God, whose pretensions were spoken of as claiming an authority which was due only to the sovereign reason of the enlightened human mind.

With these fundamental views of the new theology, there was working the philosophy of Kant, which beginning with a critical scepticism, was losing itself, as it was developed, in Idealism and Pantheism, and was ending in Atheism. What had been long served up in the lecture-rooms of the universities and in the books of the learned, as the esoteric wisdom of the new light, was brought by the poets into the drawing-room, and soon after into the market-place, and, last of all, into the beer-shop. It was a misfortune that the poets whose eminent talents gave a new impulse to the German mind and language should have flourished at the time when a false knowledge promised to open a new era and to heal the evils of which the blame was laid upon the Church as well as upon the State. This light, which penetrated the forest, consuming some of its best trees, reached also the poets; and their influence was so exerted in its favour, that, in a short time, the educated classes were either indifferent or hostile to serious Christianity; so that princes, nobles, officials, universities, and especially the higher schools, turned from the Christianity of the Bible, and nothing but a shallow morality remained as a lifeless residuum in the retort of intellectual progress.

The ministers of the Church were soon led to play a deplorable part. Many of them, trained by blind leaders of the blind to be simply negative Protestants, preached things which the people knew without them. Sermons might be heard in Christian churches on the cultivation of potatoes, on the advantages or disadvantages of tobacco; at Christmas, on stall-feeding; at Easter, on Spring; at Whit-Sunday, on the spirit of liberty.

Such pastors cared more for the body than for the soul, and their pastorate was an empty name. Certainly, the many excellent men and many cheering appearances which at that time meet us, like so many points of light, ought not to be overlooked. After the long barbarism of the seventeenth century, which showed itself in the great corruption of our language, the approach of a better time on the wing was indicated by the growth of a purer taste, and by a struggle for higher cultivation; but the long fermentation occasioned much confusion.

The hymn books and prayer books imitated the bad spirit of the un-Christian or half-Christian light, and the people found no edification in the Churches, which thus became always empty. Only a few divines, especially in the university of Tubingen, remained true to the old faith; and the people in Wurtemberg would not be seduced, and sought warmth at the hearths of private assemblies, which had begun in these districts since the time of the Reformation, when the Austrian dominion suppressed Protestant worship, and had been more generally diffused there than anywhere else, especially since the time of Spener. A powerful support to this little Church, within the Church, was the Moravian brethren; who, as a larger Christian community, exhibited in real life the wholesome influence of true Christianity on morals, brotherly love, spiritual improvement, and prosperity.

4. The Influence of Rationalism on the Schools.

The influence of Rationalism is especially to be deplored on the department of education, which affects most immediately the life of the people. The deeper the Church sank, the more did the school rise in presumption, and even promised to give that which the Church enjoined as the one thing necessary—light, culture, and instruction. These highest benefits, it was believed, ought to be conferred on the whole people, and thus flourished Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Dinter, and such men, who would not hear of original sin, of an atonement, of regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and who believed that all goodness must be formed from man himself, and not through Christianity. These fundamental errors of the otherwise noble Pestalozzi, who in his own person made such a lamentable failure, were pressed by the Governments on the schoolmasters, and a re-organisation of the whole system appeared to the heads of the Church and State as one of the first measures to improve the condition of the people. Hence, everywhere seminaries for schoolmasters, which were

raised to be little universities for the national schools, in which the future instructors of the people were to learn everything possible, as they were to be professors of history, geography, mathematics, and the physical sciences. Thus there were formed superficial sciolists, who ridiculed the Bible and the Church, or assigned to their claims a place far inferior to those of secular education.

It is impossible to calculate the injury inflicted by the high education given by the Governments to the schoolmasters. Their new attainments stood in most striking contrast with their old position, and especially with their miserable income. There arose thus a large and numerous class, whose pretensions, whether just or unjust, could not be satisfied, and which lamentably increased the number of those who are always dissatisfied among the people. The people themselves did not bring out of these schools that living Christianity which is the only source of happiness, and under whose influence all knowledge is salutary; but science, ideas, pretensions, which set them readily in hostility to existing circumstances, whilst an ever-swelling tide of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, applied the erroneous lessons of the school still more erroneously to daily life.

5. Conversion from the Corruption of Rationalism.

When we reflect on all this, we can only wonder that the disruption of all moral, political, and social ties, were not greater than they actually were. The remains of the better times of Protestant faith, which still survived in a preponderating portion of the people, the consequent preservation of moral principles, and particularly the great sufferings of a time, marked by the violent agitating tumults of war, maintained a seriousness which checked the outbreaks of depravity. The tumult of war gave the first signal of a mighty change. The thunder—the cannon—had subdued men's minds, and the fields of battle steeped in blood, had showed the nothingness of human greatness: when the monarchs of Austria, Prussia and Russia, knelt down on the battle field at Leipsic and offered their homage and thanksgivings to the Lord of Hosts, it made a deep impression on all the nation. Amid the severe storms of a frightful war, men felt the want of higher comfort, and listened again to the voices of believers who had long preached in the wilderness.

Again, the fearful famine of 1817 was a call to repentance, and the solemn celebration in the same year of the three hundredth

anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation by Luther, reminded men forcibly of the old faith, from which alone peace and salvation come. From this period, men are always arising to unfurl the pure Word of God as the standard to which the people must hold if they would be safe. The spirit of faith and repentance has been penetrating into the halls of science. To this end laboured Sleiermacher, who marks a new epoch in theology, whose many-sided mind led the Rationalists to call him a Mystic, and the Mystics to call him a Rationalist and a Pantheist, who united the acutest intellect to a pious, though by no means orthodox faith; who returned from a general slighting of religious creeds to a respectful acknowledgment of their value, and who made the fundamental doctrines of Scripture the principle of his logical system of piety: these taught religious opinion again to revolve around the doctrines of sin and grace as their poles. Many of his pupils embraced the system of Christian truth still more decisively, and there arose a circle of Biblical Divines, Neander, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Hengtstenberg, Lücke, Müller, Ullmann, Twesten, Sack, and many others, who have exercised the happiest influence on theological literature, and especially on the young students. There was a shaking of the dead bones, and the breath of the Lord came into them.

The first French Revolution marked the beginning of the apostacy from the true faith. The second French Revolution, in 1830, witnessed a very delightful conversion of many conspicuous minds; that year the Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession was celebrated; and, before the advancing light, the former darkness enwrapped itself in the deeper shades of death, and mutual opposition became more decided.

6. The stronger Conflict of Faith with Unbelief, especially with that of Hegel and Strauss.

While Rationalism held nearly undisturbed possession of power in most of the provinces of Germany till 1817 and 1830, there then began, especially in Hengstenberg's Paper, very earnest conflicts between the men who were animated by the spirit of a new life in Christ, and the retrograde men, who held fast to the old unbelief, or wished to dress it in new plumes. This unbelief found a strong colleague in philosophy from 1835 to 1848. Hegel's pupils carried the pantheism of their master, who contrived to give a certain Christian show, to the complete deification of humanity; so that Feuerbach at length maintained, "Man is

God; and, except man, there is no God." Somewhat more cautious, but not less destructive, was the doctrine of Strauss—that the whole sacred history is a myth, the Bible a book full of contradictions, Christianity all fanatical delusion; and that the only thing valuable was the training of the mind, emancipated from the prejudices of faith, and the only worship that of human genius. All this was presented with such logical acuteness and wit, and with so great pretensions to learning, that the opponents of the Bible triumphed over the old faith as perfectly untenable, and many of its friends began to fear.

But the extreme efforts of a gigantic unbelief only served to place in a clearer light the Divine power of the Truth. It deserves remark, that on the one hand this philosophy of Atheism claimed to be the legitimate result of the philosophical development since Spinoza, or rather since Descartes and Malebranche; on the other hand, this theology of Nihilism broke the machinery of Rationalism, and innumerable attacks in detail upon the Bible, which had been represented as irreconcilable to the dictates of the understanding, rejected them as offending the taste as mistaken; but now, with their rejection of the Bible, they left only one alternative, either to believe all or nothing; either to receive the God of Christianity and the Bible as it lies before us; or to break entirely with the old belief, and throw ourselves into the arms of science, whose Bible is only the intellect, whose God is only the *ego*, and whose heaven is only the earth.

Thus from the culminating point, German philosophy, men were thrown back into the depths of heathenism, from the apparently ethereal heights of idealism down into crude materialism, and, consequently, from the aristocracy of refinement and intelligence into the democratic barbarism of those who believe nothing, because they know nothing, and know nothing because they love nothing but themselves in the world.

7. Social Corruptions through Unbelief.

This ungodly tendency was extended by many books and periodicals. The poets came also to the aid of the philosophers, and diffused the poison of a pantheism which has enthusiasm only for nature, which deifies man, though it despairs of humanity, over a reading public which was always becoming more numerous.

There were Jews especially who rejoiced in the destruction of Christianity, and contributed a literature which appeared to be

full of spirit, and yet only served the flesh, and which recklessly shook down all the pillars of human society, religion, Church, State, civil authority, law, good morals, marriage, order and justice. Their motto was, the emancipation of the flesh; their aim was, unrestrained enjoyment; the war of all against all, and then annihilation. Everything Christian was inscribed with the contemptuous epithet of pietism, so that one of that godless school said shortly, Christians, Jews, and other pietists. With this name till this day all living Christianity is designated by scorners or half-Christians, whilst formerly only those who attended assemblies not connected with the Church were so called. Such turbid waters flowed abundantly in the channels which had been dug for the education of the people; almost every village had its public-house, and every public-house its paper, in which the new political wisdom was offered to the people. There was a perpetual agitation respecting this political wisdom, kept up by the party struggles in France, from which, in more recent times, much evil has also come. The poison decocted at the Revolutionary focus in Paris and Lyons was brought immediately to Germany by the numerous workmen who travelled from over-peopled Germany to France, and thence back to us again, after they had plunged there into all the depths of vice, impiety, and revolutionary zeal. Among these labourers was formed the alarming phenomenon of Communism, which borrowed some leading principles from Materialism, and forged them into weapons which threatened the destruction of all social bonds. Incredible expressions of ungodliness and of hatred to all religion, of thirst for the blood of their opponents, and for the confiscation of all property, were propagated by the Communists in speech and writing.

8. German Roman Catholicism.

All these agitations of infidelity in the mind, intellect, and life of the people, were contemplated with the greatest satisfaction by a Power which makes a boast of the highest Conservatism—viz., the Romish Church. There was also a new movement in it since 1830. In the Protestant Church the struggle arose between faith and unbelief, the inward religious interest and indifference. The reaction in the Roman Catholic Church took a direction by means of its external character, which puts the Church above Christ, principally of this kind, that the ecclesiastical

ties were drawn closer, and that the Pope and his bishops obtained greater influence over the State, the princes, and civil authorities. Hatred to Protestantism increased with the intensity of their zeal, and weapons were again seen, brought from the armoury of Jesuitism, which had been scarcely thought of for a hundred years; and the standards of war unfurled against the evangelical truths, on which were inscribed "Down with Protestantism!" This disposition rejoiced at everything over which every true disciple of Christ mourned; for each new work of unbelief in the Protestant Church appeared a stone which was torn from it, to be added to the proud temple of Rome. They hailed with exultation a writing which proceeded from the Protestant Church itself, under the title of "The Self-dissolution of Protestantism." That was long the motto in Romish books and periodicals, of the bitter hostilities against all the followers of Luther and Calvin, whose overthrow was as confidently sounded forth by the Papists as that of believers in the Bible by the admirers of Strauss and Feuerbach; and yet this was written by a worthless Wurtemberg student, whose vile pen was purchased by Romish gold, and who, after serving for pay in the French army at Algiers, came back a beggar, and has since gone to America.

But, as a punishment of their insolence, a circumstance unexpectedly took place among the Catholics, which showed how little they have of that unity of which they boast.

The righteous opposition to the idolatry practised by priests and people towards the Holy Coat at Treves spread far and wide, and many who, at length, became too hampered by the bonds of Popery, raised an agitation which, under the name of German Catholicism, appeared at first as if it might become a Catholic Protestantism, but which was soon lost in the sands and quagmire of negative opinions, rejected by Christians not less than by Romanists.

The miscarriage of that sect, as of the so-called friends of light and of the free societies which afterwards arose, the inability of all these Rationalists to found a Church, or to keep it together, and the injurious influence which the rejection of all belief in the Bible exercised on morals and politics, led to the darkest anticipations of what would have befallen the people if the disease had become chronic and had continued to spread, till the infection became general. But when it was advancing to the stage of acute fever, a decisive crisis speedily came on.

9. The Fruits of Unbelief in the Revolutionary Movements of 1848.

A French revolution gave occasion again to a fearfully perilous crisis. The events in Paris of February 24, 1848, were the signal for a shaking of minds through all Germany. As, a hundred years ago, the fountains of Bohemia were dried up by the earthquake at Lisbon, and at the Antilles, in America, the tide rose twenty feet higher than usual, and rolled on the spot black as ink, and a space of country larger than Europe was heaved up, so the commotions which made France a republic for the second time spread from one country to another, and even the oaks of Germany bent under the violence of the storm. The depths of all evil passions burst forth, and the Revolution, dark as ink, swelled and overflowed its banks in every city, and strove to burst through whatever was great, powerful, and holy.

And who were they in which the spirit of the abyss most raged? It was the masses of the people, who had learned, in the schools of Rationalism, to despise the highest authority—that of the Lord of Hosts and of His Word; while communities and individuals, in whom Christianity was a living power, remained immoveably firm in their fidelity to divine and human laws. Then were the thoughts of many hearts revealed, and a crisis commenced in which a powerful test was applied to systems of Church and State, of education, science, philosophy, and faith, to literature, and everything that stirs the life of the people. The eyes of multitudes were opened, and they began to understand Christ's saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Much that had been highly admired was now perceived to be worse than useless, because it bore bad fruits; and as it is one great argument for Christianity that divine effects must have a divine cause, so the opposite of Christianity is shown to be bad, by its evil results; for infidelity showed itself everywhere, as a poisonous source of pride, licentiousness, rebellion against all good rules, of discontent and division—in short, of all the passions which convert the people into harpies, the Church into a heap of ruins, the State into a madhouse, and life into a desert. The wildest democrats were the boldest blasphemers of God and enemies of the Bible; and many un-Christian views, both from the pulpit and the press, which had been tolerated and recommended as harmless, proved, when diffused among the people, to be the unwholesome source of an unbridled indulgence, which

tended to dissolve all the bands of order. On the other hand, it was evident that true Christianity was everywhere a powerful barrier against revolution and social disruption; so that, as a political writer says, anarchy was arrested much more by the passive resistance of the peasantry, animated by fidelity to their Church, than by the strength of the Governments; and that the Church did much more by the strength of its silent influence than the bureaucracy, which had looked down so contemptuously on it. Those who tried to suppress the Revolution, and to heal its disasters, without Christianity, had little or no success.

The Great National Assembly at Frankfort, whose 600 members were the *elite* of German intelligence, and who rejected, by a large majority, the opening of their assembly with prayer, accomplished nothing by their many and lengthened consultations; so that the assembly, on which so many bright hopes were founded, dissolved without having done anything of importance for the welfare of the German people.

PART II.—THE PROMISING ASPECT OF THE PRESENT TIME.

1. The Tendency to acknowledge Real Christianity.

These experiences established a very delightful disposition among the educated towards Christianity. Princes, statesmen, philosophers, clergymen, and teachers perceived that Christian truth and Christian influences could not be dispensed with; that the bepraised philosophy which exalted man, in order to depress God—or even to remove God—by no means brings that boasted benefit and that ideal elevation to humanity; and, with all the means of improvement, it was throwing the educated themselves, and most certainly the masses, into barbarism; and that, therefore, true progress consists not in rending asunder the Christian foundations of our states, but in a return to a training rooted in the Word of God. Thus, in the last five years, we have seen results which, before 1848, would have been deemed impossible. The Church formerly resembled a fortress, in whose walls numerous breaches had been battered on all sides, and which was garrisoned by many wounded men, or by men unfit for the conflict, or disposed to ignominious surrender; but now we see the most energetic efforts to repair the breaches, to construct stronger walls and bulwarks, to rebuild more firmly the demolished towers, to replace the wounded, and to offer a vigorous resistance to every foe.

A new breath of life pervades all the provinces of Germany, which quickens many of the dead bones in the valley, and converts many a desert into a garden of the Lord. Most of the many princes and governments of Germany labour for the advancement of positive Christianity. Even government officials, who formerly were either quite indifferent, or even hostile, now recognise its high importance, and strive to remove, at least, the obstacles in its way. Ecclesiastical offices are mostly held by men who no longer embrace Rationalism, but prize and promote Bible Christianity. The Universities of Germany have, among the non-theological professors, still very much religious indifference; but the theological chairs are nearly all occupied by men who repose a living faith on the Word of God; who expect the regeneration which society needs only through the regeneration of the heart by the Holy Spirit.*

2. The Improved State of German Philosophy.

Philosophy, which was so long the proud law-giver of the German intellects, is now undergoing a remarkable change. For a hundred years back some one philosophical system ruled men's minds. Liebnitz, Wolf, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, told the world what to believe and what not to believe. Now there is no reigning system; but, as in the declining days of Neoplatonism, there prevails now a tendency to select portions of the different systems, and mingle them together; and though this does not conduct many minds out of the labyrinths of the sceptical theories connected with them which support one another, still it leaves them more capable and disposed to receive the truths of

* When the Tubingen school of criticism has been often mentioned, as it lately was at Paris, as a proof of the prevalent infidelity in Germany, it is with it as it often happens when we hear of an epidemic, or any other trouble in a distant place; we suppose that all are ill, or in revolt, or inflamed, while people on the spot wonder at the outcry at a distance. The theological faculty of Tubingen by no means deserves the general condemnation which has been passed on it. It consists of five professors, of whom four are decided believers in the Bible, and only one has deeply distressed all the friends of God's Word by his criticisms. Besides, his influence is much smaller than it is represented abroad. The most independent students question his assertions, and the number of his adherents is small. But his moral character, and his earnest, unwearied struggles after knowledge, secure the respect of those who regret his theological tendencies. The Senate of Tubingen has lately withdrawn the permission to lecture from a vulgar infidel, a private teacher of medicine; and we have to thank the Government for dismissing Vischer, the well-known Hegelist. In other German Universities the star of infidelity has paled, and in the appointment of professors inquiry is made not only into their learning, but into their Christianity.

Christianity than the oracles of a complete system permitted. Philosophers themselves complain that their systems are fallen into discredit and contempt; thus, on the one side, the rulers of the nation reproach them as one of the sources of destructive political theories; on the other hand, the extreme demand of the times for good practical knowledge, have discouraged the exercise of pure thought, and the want of productive originality and independence is shown in the lamentable repetition of the same ideas. Even the friends of philosophy, who justly consider it as a necessary means of mental discipline, and as the armoury of the higher ideas, are yet of opinion that its proper position in our days is rather defensive than offensive, and that it would do well for its own sake to retire into its own undoubted province, as it has lost its influence in politics and religion by interfering with them too much, and in too dictatorial a tone.

It is very cheering that the best known philosophers of our time acknowledge again the fundamental verities of the Christian faith; a personal God and Creator; a personal immortality; the freedom of the human will, sin, and the moral law, and have thus quite a different basis for their views of the divine nature and government than when these leading principles were in whole or in part denied. This acknowledgment by philosophy of the leading ideas on which revelation rests, is of the highest importance to Germany, as its thinkers apply their measuring rod of science to everything, and the reproach of being unscientific is, with them, almost severer than that of being un-Christian. Those who hate or despise Christianity, oppose, it is true, the philosophers who incline to it; and here is shown the greater decision which characterises our times. Christianity, or its rejection; Spiritualism, or Materialism—God, or eternal nothingness, are the opposite poles around which minds move. Many an admirable avowal of Christian truth is made by those who have no office in the Church, and are only engaged in scientific pursuits. Rudolph Wagner, one of those most distinguished for science, delivered a discourse on the creation of man and the nature of the soul, for which he well knew that very many of his class would despise him as a believer in the Bible. He openly opposed the tendencies to Materialism, and declared it not to be thought of, that, by profounder investigation of the subject, inquirers should arrive at a result, which might bring the natural sciences into the

suspicion of overthrowing the moral and the religious foundations of society. Much more, the facts of self consciousness assert their claims with resistless force in the moral and religious life, but the full solution of the problem, and the preservation of subjective facts, are afforded only by the facts of Revelation ; and the latter alone have the power to contribute to a new regeneration of the irreligious masses. The discourse made a deep impression, and thus, even the purely scientific departments of human knowledge have been overtaken by the deeper influences of religion which are flowing in streams through the land.

3. The Christian Spirit which Prevails in our Present Theology.

This tendency of science has the happiest influence on theology, the science which concerns the spiritual life. Theology has been, for a hundred years past, the servant of philosophy, and its fundamental laws have been taken, not from the Word of God, but from the philosophers of Athens, Konigsberg, Jena, and Berlin ; but it has now taken, again, a very independent position, and there is a holy science which bends before the staff of the Good Shepherd more than before all the sceptres of the earth ; more than before the marshal's staff of all the categorical imperatives of philosophy. Generally, the professors of theology are believing Christians, who, in careful exposition of the Old and New Testament, in Biblical dogmatics, in morals, in the exposition of the doctrines contained in our confessions, in vivid apprehension of the history of the Christian Church and doctrine, are doing a truly great work, and combine simplicity of faith with an astonishing erudition. Especially is it cheering that prophecy attracts the attention of German divines, and the rising of Christ's glorious kingdom of peace on earth is no more despised as a religious delusion.

It is, besides, a peculiar feature of our times, that the men of science do not live as formerly, only in the student's room, and for the pulpit. Many combine very useful practical applications with their theoretical performances ; go forth into active life and confess the Son of God as the only Saviour among the intellectual classes, who receive such testimonies to the fundamental truths of our religion more willingly from professors than from pastors. Thus Hundeshagen and Schenkel, professors at Heidelberg, have held re-unions for the educated in the towns where Christianity

was little acknowledged, which met with extraordinary attention. Many professors take, also, a part in the labours of the Inner Mission. They attend also to their students more than at the time when there was a great gulf fixed between the two parties. Thus they labour much, both by word and writing, to awaken Christian faith and Christian conduct.

There has arisen a quite new theological literature, which would have been reckoned an impossibility thirty years ago. In most writings there breathes a belief in the Divine origin of Holy Writ and in the Divinity of Christ, as the only absolutely necessary Saviour. The most widely-circulated philosophical journals diffuse fundamental Christian truths among vast numbers, while some aim at a purely popular language.

Thus has Germany discharged her great mission of establishing, by argument, a sincere Bible faith, and defending it against all the weapons of infidel critics. These critics appeared to demonstrate that, by all the rules of logic, belief in the Word of God was impossible, and their arguments, which were often at variance with each other, have vastly fallen in their credit among the intelligent. The loud cry of the time warns them too powerfully that the heart of the people and of every human being requires something more than their jealous criticism leaves us.

It was a hot and a long struggle, but it is not to be regretted, as its success is of incalculable worth ; for now the ways have been explored on which the inquiring and doubting mind searches for truth ; and the belief of a child is not so firmly maintained as that faith which, like gold tried in the fire, proceeds from the profoundest conviction, and, victorious over intellectual difficulties, joins in the confession, "Neither is there salvation in any other than Jesus Christ."

We certainly say not too much in asserting, that the Rationalism of the German mind is vanquished, and that now every theological student would be ashamed to use its arguments against the Bible. About forty years ago, Knapp uttered the fearful complaint that, in Halle, among 1,000 students, only one was a true Christian, and he came from Herrnhutt ; the rest were sunk in carelessness and frivolity. Now, at least, the tenth part of the German candidates have a living faith ; others are earnestly striving to lay hold of the doctrines of the Bible and of our confessions ; and those who cannot tear themselves

away from the errors of speculation, or rather of scepticism, do not venture to mount the pulpit; while, twenty years ago, the principle was openly expressed—the clergyman need not hold what he says to his people in the name of the Church; he may preach otherwise than he believes. Such hypocrisy is regarded as dishonourable; and many mistaken theologians earn their bread as teachers of philology, history, geography, and mathematics; the worst, as writers for the newspapers; and it is remarkable that the most democratic papers are mostly conducted by theological starvelings.

4. The Christian Tendency among the Clergy.

There is an unmistakeable improvement among the clergy. The change which has occurred within the last seven years can only be compared to the period of the Reformation. As Luther's translation of the Bible and doctrine ran, like a watchfire, from land to land, so has the newly-awakened life of faith suddenly penetrated many parsonages of Germany; and out of many, filled before only with clouds of tobacco smoke, now rises the holy incense of believing prayer and ministerial intercession. To this result not only the new zeal for theological study, but the serious aspects of the times have contributed much. The clergy must, before all others, see the effects of infidelity among the people, and how, on the other hand, they are the best citizens who preserve the faith of the prophets and apostles. The eyes of many have been opened by seeing that the democracy, which they embraced in connexion with Rationalism, hates and despises the clergy as monks, and that it is highly absurd for a clergyman to uphold that which treats him and his whole class with contempt.

The prevalence of democracy since 1848 has disclosed so many evils in the state of the people, that all pastors not quite blind must acknowledge, with shame and mortification, how negligent they have been, and how much remains for them to do, if they are to restore the people from their moral and social degradation. Besides, there have been the distresses of poverty, which have been of late years aggravated by the failure of the crops. The people themselves have since made new demands on their pastors. Their late experience has taught them that, generally, the places which possessed pious ministers were less exposed to the inroads of democracy, and that peace and order, industry and prosperity, remained unshaken; while the opposite occurred where the pastors had been unworthy. On this account, all the well-disposed long

for truly Christian ministers and for the powerful preaching of the pure Word of God; and even the indifferent now inquire much more what their minister does, and think his little pay too high, if he only preaches and catechises on the Sunday, and does little or nothing during the week.

Thus our clergy are impelled by everything within and without, not only to preach the word powerfully in the Church, but also to do all that out of the Church, which urges anew on them with great energy, as a duty, that which indeed properly belonged to their office, but which in the times of Rationalism they had neglected or forgotten.

To these noble efforts the clergy mutually excite one another in numerous conferences, in which they offer for themselves and their people many fervent prayers to the Chief Shepherd, consider the Word of God for edification, discuss questions of improvement and experience, of what ought to be done in general and in particular. Such conferences have largely multiplied of late, and their numbers increased. They bring extraordinary benefits; and many a minister, who might have remained, but for them, an unfruitful tree, is quickened and made fruitful by the fresh life which is breathed by these assemblies. In Wurtemberg, where such a conference has existed, it consisted formerly of about forty members, but now there are some two hundred.

5. Better Management.

On this point such an improvement has taken place, that we are reminded of the Apostle's words—"Life from the dead." Twenty or thirty years ago, most princes and their councils cared little about the Church, or decided Christianity; now they take a most thankworthy interest in the Church, in the religion and morals of the people; and many princes have acted not only as defenders of the Church, but have exerted their whole power to introduce wholesome regulations and improvements.

The rulers of the Church are no longer hampered in their efforts, as under governments indifferent or hostile to Christianity, which took the Church in tow under a sectional department of the Interior. Now there is a Minister of Public Instruction, who devotes the care and activity required of him to its important duties. In most German kingdoms, Church rulers labour to plant and promote true Christianity in a way which would have been thought impossible twenty years ago. The language of the

rulers and heads of Churches is quite changed. They no longer speak as officials, half-Churchmen, half-statesmen, and mere moralists, but as brethren and pastors, who have at heart the salvation of their flock and of the clergy, and are not ashamed of the name of Jesus or of confessing His whole truth. They respect highly and dearly the rights of the people, as well as liberty of individual faith and conscience. They earnestly maintain discipline and order. They firmly require fidelity to the confessions in the teachers and preachers, and eagerly employ all the means by which the Church may be brought into conformity with the mind and spirit of Christ. Of this there is a very cheering instance in the Supreme Church Council and General Synod of Baden. Paulus, the well-known father of the Rationalists in that country, had a most injurious influence on the clergy; so that, twenty-five years ago, only seven clergymen protested against their unscriptural catechism, and were, on this account, treated with contempt by their brethren. Now nearly all the clergy call for a better catechism, and the rulers of the Church have very satisfactorily met their views, as well as in relation to the school-books and books for the edification of the people. In other districts the defective prayer and hymn-books of the Rationalist have been removed, and replaced by others, which breathe the spirit of true faith, and give the people pure Christian food. The new Wurtemberg hymn-book, published in 1842, is now introduced into Austria and into other provinces; the Bavarian, also, has just appeared. "The Darmstadt Peace," and other similar works, announce truly a life from the dead. To this belongs also the excellent German hymn-books which the deputies of the German Church rulers produced at Eisenach, in which 150 of the noblest hymns of our old Protestant Church are collected, with the best tunes attached. This book alone were proof sufficient that the Church rulers of Germany are animated by quite a different spirit than before, and that we have still German unity and faith.

Here and there, also, rules for presbyteries and synods are introduced by the Church rulers, at which all the friends of the Church must rejoice. Of these hereafter. This important point is adduced as a sign that several important States—such as Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Oldenburg, and Weimar, fully recognise the rights of the people, and are disinclined to a hierarchy, which allows no voice to laymen in Church affairs.

In particular, it may be remarked that the Church rulers lay the greatest stress on the necessity of a better keeping of the Sabbath and better discipline, although the results of their measures have yet to be ascertained.

6. The Movements of Religious Life among the People.

A new breath of life passes through the congregations, who now listen to very different discourses from what they did, thirty or forty years ago, and in which, partly by the preaching of God's Word, and partly by more efficient pastoral attentions, many who were asleep or dead are awakened, the weak are strengthened, and a better public opinion formed, which no longer takes what is un-Christian for what is Christian, immorality as permitted, and piety as folly. It is striking to see how the churches are filling, and mostly where the Word of God is simply and powerfully preached. The evening service and the Bible-classes, which have been lately commenced, are numerously attended, beyond expectation. In very many houses family worship, which had been long neglected, is restored. An extraordinary multitude of sermons and prayers, and other religious books, are disposed of by the trade; and no others sell so well. There are in Germany 600 works, new and old, of Christian preachers, circulated in numberless copies. Eight principal societies—tract societies, book societies, Protestant societies—are engaged in circulating a great multitude of Christian writings; so that we have rather to complain of having too many than too few, as they interfere with the reading of the Scriptures. More than thirty newspapers, conducted on purely Christian principles, publish the proceedings of the churches, of the Home and Foreign Missions, and everything that may advance the kingdom of God; with expositions of Scripture and religious essays, narratives, and news, which bring about a lively spiritual intercourse: they have a very great multitude of purchasers and still more readers. Even the educated, who long read only political papers, find rich instruction and incitement in several periodicals, especially intended for them, among which the most conspicuous are the "Evangelical Church Times," of Hengstenberg—the oldest and the most decided; "The German Periodical for Christian Science and Christian Life," established by Müller, Neander, and Nitzsch; "The Protestant Monthly," by Gelzer; "The General Church Times," by Schenkel and Palmer; "The Magazine for Protestantism," by Thomasius (strictly Lutheran);

and "The Magazine of the Reformed Church," by Gôbel. I do not mention all the papers of less pretensions. Besides the thirty periodicals, there are calendars and almanacks, purely Christian, influencing immediately the whole nation. In many houses the evening religious hymn is again heard. Large religious concerts have been attended by thousands in the churches, and many who would scarcely listen to a sermon on Christ had a powerful sermon preached to them by Handel's "Messiah."

The Missionary cause has exercised a particularly beneficial influence. The Missionary meetings, at which interesting communications are given respecting the state of the Heathen, awaken the sympathy of a very large portion, and also, in some provinces, every circuit has its missionary meeting, and in Wurtemberg, these circuits are only six, twelve, or sixteen miles round; yet they fill the churches to overflowing, and remain for three or four hours.

One particular sign of the religious life, is the private meetings, in which the awakened promote their mutual improvement. The number and character of these meetings furnish a measure of the religious spirit prevailing in a congregation or in a province. We may thank God that these meetings are on the increase; that ministers encourage their formation, and hold Bible classes, missionary classes, meetings for evening prayer; and that, between the majority of ministers and the members of such meetings, there is not, as once, an unfriendly, but a peaceful relation, in which the minister finds himself more as a *primus inter pares*, as a brother among brethren, and, indeed, learns from the spiritually advanced, belonging to the class of merchants, artizans, and peasants. What is here said prevails most in Wurtemberg. I say it not because I belong to that country; brethren from other provinces say it; and wish, for themselves, what they see everywhere among us, but seldom or never elsewhere. In Wurtemberg, every city, and almost every village, has its private religious meeting, or two or three of them, each with twenty, thirty, or sixty members. In some places, the members amount to from two to three hundred, and in one village of 3000 inhabitants, there are 600 members. The most spiritually advanced lead the meeting, open it with praise and prayer, read a text of Scripture, and give their thoughts upon it and their experience. Of the rest, every male member may take a part in the conversation. Often they read a sermon or a meditation, and annex to it further obser-

vations. Ministers ought fraternally to visit these meetings, and satisfy themselves that nothing visionary or unscriptural is brought forward. Many ministers attend them regularly and conduct their devotions. Thus, a beautiful bond is formed between the ministers and the free assemblies, whose members are the most diligent attendants at church, are attached to it, are free from separation, and are its strongest opponents, as these meetings satisfy the longing for freer fraternal edification. These extraneous, and yet truly Church meetings, which, under the name of conventicles, are dreaded, hated, and despised in other provinces, are the true centres of Christian life among the people, and are the salt of the earth. Among them rests the piety which, with all the confidence of faith, has a larger-hearted love. Thus the Wurtemberg Christians remain till now free from a narrow confessionalism, as well as from lukewarm indifference, and form a beneficial link between the Lutherans and the Reformed; as they are Lutherans, it is true, in doctrine, but intimately connected in life with Christians of other Protestant Churches. That there are many impure members in these religious unions, that every now and then one person, by gross sin, brings shame on the name of Pietism, by which it is known, may be easily supposed by those who remember Judas, and the manifold evils existing even in the Apostolic Churches.

With justice many have wondered, that in a kingdom, among whose Protestant inhabitants (one million), there are more than 50,000 such Pietists, and among whose 1,000 clergy, there are more than 200 who favour and attend these meetings, there should be so much irreligion—that the jails and public-houses should be so full—that much barbarism and passion for democracy should exist; and that, from this kingdom should have proceeded a Paulus, a Hegel, and a Strauss, and other Rationalists and Pantheists. But, the brighter a light is, the deeper are its shades. He who shuts out the Christian influences which surround him, by the tumult of youthful excess, pleasure, or scientific self-conceit, will have a deeper hatred of religion than the man who has encountered fewer Christian influences; the evil in him must have offered a greater resistance to good, and he will thus be more violent and exasperated, as one who prays earnestly for an unconverted person may have greater displeasure shown to him, which is frequently a sign of an inward struggle,

and that the ice is beginning to break. It were a mistaken conclusion, if we were to say, because, in this or that country, there is so much crime, that no piety or faith can exist in it.

As in Wurtemberg, a goodly nucleus may be found of living Christians, and on the increase, so in many other parts of Germany, in the Wupperthal, in Pomerania, and some other parts of Prussia, in Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover. What wonders extraordinary individuals can do in awakening men to a new life, has been shown by Pastor Harms, in Hermannsburg, whose newly-awakened congregation fitted out a missionary ship of their own; by Blumhardt, in Nottlingen (now in Bale), whose people adopted the Apostolic discipline; and by the many silent works of men, who have grown up together with their people to the more lively and God-pleasing fellowship of simple Christian faith and practice.

As signs which externally meet the eye of a more vigorous religious life, we may especially consider the way in which people keep the Sabbath and contribute to religious objects. Respecting the first point, there can be no doubt that more earnestness and discipline are exercised in Germany. We have not yet an English Sunday, but neither have we a French one. In most provinces of Germany, old strict laws still exist, which in Wurtemberg, for instance, are so stringent, that we have nearly an English Sunday, as far as it is compatible with Christian liberty. These laws are, in many ways, no longer observed; but the grievous injuries we have suffered from their neglect—the demoralisation from the throngs in public-houses on the Sunday—and the increase of crime on that day, have shown those least inclined to be strict the necessity of securing the observance of the Sabbath against unnecessary labour, and the wild excesses of pleasure. They are proceeding now to renew the stricter Sunday laws. It must also be said, that in many parts the claims of the Sunday are acknowledged. Numerous country communities leave off all labour, and in towns men venture not to work in public. If a pressing necessity drives them to field work, they first seek permission of the Church rulers. Dancing on Sunday is not allowed, at least in Wurtemberg. High festivals are almost everywhere strictly celebrated; and on such days, the churches are twice or thrice full of worshippers.

The reports of different religious and benevolent institutions show their liberality. To take one instance: the Protestant

population of Rhenish Prussia has, in forty years, advanced from 45,000 to 80,000 souls. They have in that time built four new churches and ten new parsonages, mostly at their own expense. They have raised yearly, for the support of the Gospel, 240,000fr.; for the Poor, 440,000fr.; for the Mission, 16,000fr.; for the Bible Society, 6,400fr.; for the Poor Children's Institution at Dussethal, 4,000fr.; for the Laugenberg American Society, 2,800fr.; for the Educational Union, 6,000fr.; for many collections to foreign objects, of which in one year there may be from eighty to ninety, 120,000fr. Thus, from 80,000 souls, the yearly sum of 842,000fr.; and how much is done in secret is known only to God.

I will not give general opinions on the signs of religion in Germany; too much that is worldly stands everywhere opposed to what is cheering, for me to indulge in high hopes. But we neither must nor can count the people of the Lord; we can only observe facts and aspects which meet the eye, and we have mentioned the most important. Unquestionably, religious questions are occupying the foreground. Even the papers, which once took either no notice, or a contemptuous one, introduce them, and a philosophical writer (Roman) says—"It is one of the most cheering aspects of the times, that among the educated, contempt for religion no longer passes for a mark of ability, and they show forbearance even towards convictions which they cannot respect."

7. Signs of Moral Advancement.

In morals many excellencies are exhibited by the people, compared with other countries. The number of crimes is much greater elsewhere than among us; in Italy, and especially in the States of the Church, which ought to be the best in the world, the roads swarm with banditti, and Peter's chair is upheld by foreign bayonets against the general corruption or revolution which would overthrow it. Even in the lauded free states of America, there is a lamentable prevalence of disorder and disregard of law. The regular administration of justice is maintained in Germany: the majority of the people are obedient to the princes and magistrates, and in nearly all the German cities the princes walk through the streets without having to fear the dagger or the ball. The numerous servants of Government are anxious to maintain strict justice, order in the administration, and conscientious care for the welfare of the people, the equality

of all before the law, and good measures for the advancement of their prosperity; education and morals generally distinguish the people. The prevailing public opinion, if too little religious, is still moral: it brands vice and imposes moral restraints on officials and citizens. Officials notoriously immoral cannot keep their places—still less immoral clergymen. There are many communes in which political discord is hushed; a prosecution does not occur throughout the year; and there are few or no illegitimate children. In many communes, the proportion of illegitimate births to legitimate, is one in twenty, thirty, or forty; in the majority, it is one in eight or ten; though in many it is one in four; the last, in Bavaria, and still more in Mecklenburg.

The people generally maintain decency and good morals, honesty, and the fear of God; and thus raise a barrier to the wild waves of revolutionary zeal, which seeks, by an incredible variety of writings, to shake the religious foundations on which the people rest. The extraordinary patience deserves to be mentioned with which a great part of the people have long borne the sufferings of want. That this great nation, of more than forty millions, which easily maintains two millions, and, if need be, three millions of soldiers, for the most part desires not war but peace, and has steadfastly resisted the many voices which would have drawn it into the tumultuous conflict—that is certainly a fair sign of moderation and of a certain power of Christian principle, which, if it were in the ascendant, would prevent war. Here the Prussian army takes a distinguished place; its ruling idea, defence of the country and the maintenance of law and order, internally and externally. Every man capable of bearing arms, from twenty to forty years of age, has to discharge this important and serious duty without distinction of rank. Thus the best and the most educated of the nation are brothers in arms with the lowest; and thus a religious and moral spirit, and a degree of intelligence, pervade that noble army, as they do no other; and as, in case of need, it can be raised to two millions, it forms a force which may long prevent war; or if compelled by injustice to wage it, to bring it to a successful termination. Such an army has a different tone from one which makes war a profession, and it exercises a wholesome influence on the state of the nation. Such a service is a school of order, subordination, intelligence, and morals. In that army, 30,352

Bibles and 357,873 New Testaments have been distributed, and last year alone 17,382 Testaments.

So visibly does the Divine blessing rest on Prussia, it would have to increase its debts fifteen-fold before the burdens on the population equalled those in France, and twenty-five-fold before they equalled those in England.

It contributes much to popular improvement in Germany, that, with few exceptions, all enjoy a school education, while in England, out of five millions of children, two millions do not go to school, so that a third of the English soldiers cannot sign their names. In France, too, there prevails a very unfavourable proportion. Were our schools only all truly Christian, what a salutary influence they might exercise on the whole nation.

Many particulars might be adduced; but I prefer taking a general survey than to particularise, because to each instance of good, much of what is evil may always be opposed.

8. The Benefit of Presbyterial and Synodal Constitution.

It has been of great importance, in awakening a better spirit among the people, that in many parts Presbyterial and Synodal action has been introduced; that there is not only a Church Government, in which the Church and State work together, and issue their commands over the district, and the pastor only presides over the Church, but the people, who are called to exercise their Church rights, choose their representatives to religious councils, and these help the pastor in the edification of the Church. When men, chosen by the people, officials, merchants, artisans, peasants, labour for their religious rights and duties, urge the practice of piety and godly discipline, uphold the claims of the Sabbath, and oppose the despisers of religion, a very different impression is produced upon the people than when ministers do all this. It is too easily believed that the clergy, when they urge such matters, are only pursuing their own class interests; but when they see that their fellow-citizens have a heart for religion, and are not ashamed of Christ, many are convinced, ashamed, and brought to esteem religion and its precepts more highly.

The Presbyteries have thus effected much good among us. It is a cheering fact, that where all the grown-up members of a congregation choose their Elders, for the most part quite worthy, religious, or at least well-disposed men, are selected. The members of the parish who are not Christians, either do not vote at all, or take care that no one of a hostile disposition be selected to a religious

office. In Wurtemberg and some other provinces, the meetings of the Elders are begun and closed with prayer, and a visible blessing rests on their consultations and labours. They contribute especially to the civil interest in this way, that as visitors of the poor, they afford a species of relief which works quite differently from that afforded by a poor's-rate, for while the latter always increases pauperism, the former seeks to stop its sources, and to elevate the poor, not only economically, but morally; to place the fear of God in the desolate abodes which are without bread, because they are without God; while they think that they have no God, because they have no bread.

The Synods of each circle have laboured very delightfully to encourage Churches to choose lay representatives, and excite a deeper interest in religious efforts; and many proposals, speeches, and expressions have been heard from laymen, which ought to convince the strictest high Churchman that there is no reason any longer to hesitate about a Constitution established on the rights of the Christian people.

The prejudices against general Synods have been removed by the excellent services of the representatives in the highest Church Courts in Bavaria and Baden. And how much Synods have effected for the real welfare of the Church in Rhenish Prussia, is known to all.

9. The Benefit of Church Visitation.

Another regulation has had a happy influence, which is, that since 1852, in Prussia and some other countries, a new kind of visitation has been introduced—that of the schools and churches; by the general superintendant, along with some superintendants and secular officials. Their object is marked by the Prussian Conference Ecclesiastical Council: — to strengthen Protestant faith and zeal, to restore old Evangelical practices in the congregations, to ascertain and abate anything improper, to see what Hymn-books and Catechisms are introduced, and to examine the state of the Congregations, and of those who labour among them.

The very supervision, and the intercourse which it occasions with pastors and teachers, make a deep impression; but still more, the many sermons and addresses which are delivered by the superintendent pastors in the principal congregations during the visitation of a district. Many ministers and congregations have been strongly roused, and have returned with new power to

the belief and avowal of their old and venerable confessions. A Roman Catholic patron was so deeply impressed at one of these visitations, that he erected a marble tablet with the inscription, "Ye are bought with a price; and, O world, see here thy life." In countries where similar, though somewhat simpler visitations have long been held, they have become lately more fruitful, spiritual, and interesting to the community.

10. Better Provision for Religious Wants.

The efforts have been very cheering which our Governments have made to obtain more churches and ministers. Prussia has raised annual collections for this object throughout her Churches, which, in the two last years, amounted to 240,000 francs. In other provinces, the governments provide for the formation of new incumbencies, and more has been done in this way during the last eight years, than during the previous fifty.

In many districts travelling preachers have been sent forth by the Church authorities, or by societies, who labour especially among the Protestants who are dispersed among the Roman Catholics. Many are thereby confirmed in the Protestant faith, and prevented from going over to the Romish Church. The Catholics learn our creed, and numerous conversions to our Church have been the consequence. Thus, in Silesia, in 1853, 860 young and old became Protestants; while, in the same country, 494 Protestants became Catholics. From 1850 to 1853, in Silesia alone, there have been converts from Romanism, 1,133 grown-up persons; at the age of confirmation, 1,552; the children of Catholic parents, 1,622. In Austria, in 1850, from the Protestant to the Catholic Church, there were 252 converts; from the Catholics to the Protestants, 688.

11. A Better Spirit in the Schools.

As in the Church and its leading organs, God's Word and Spirit are recognised as the supreme powers; so in the school, exertions are now made to carry out juster principles, especially to simplify the education of the schoolmasters, so as to no longer incur the reproach, "Something of everything, but nothing well," that the people may acquire the necessary instruction, without injurious multifariousness and scientific doubt, which resists all good authority, and submits to what is bad. Prussia is the country in which teachers' seminaries have been carried to the highest point; it has begun to descend from such proud heights, and to give a simpler and sounder foundation to the

school system. The Wurtemberg government has enacted laws, limiting the matters to be taught at school, and thus rendering the education more solid and conformable to nature. It is universally perceived that the hope of a better future lies in the Christian disposition of the teachers.

The classical schools are not unaffected by the new spirit of decided positive Christianity. In various places, private gymnasia have been formed, all whose teachers must be living Christians, and thus the best kind of opposition was offered by improving on the existing gymnasia, whose professors, during the long reign of Rationalism, had embraced literary views either indifferent or hostile to Christianity. The many voices which were raised against these one-sided views, and blamed them for training the future servants of the Church and State more as Heathens than as Christians, were not without effect; and governments have been careful to select Christian men to be rectors of the gymnasia, and, as far as possible, such professors as may be expected to exercise a salutary influence on youth.

12. The Benefit of the German Kirchentag.

All the above efforts have a living centre of union—a means of impression and advancement in the meetings and labours of the German Evangelical Kirchentag and Congress for the Inner Mission. That assembly, of itself, proves that a new day has arisen on Germany.

Was it not an elevating spectacle, when, in Wittemberg, over the grave of Luther, amidst the tumults of the revolutionary waves, 600 men met, not as at Frankfort, chosen by the people, and not like them either on the proud principle, "Help yourself, and God will help you?" but sustained by the spirit of faith and of true charity, and bending low under a sense of their own sins, and those of the nation, and, above all, beseeching the Lord for mercy and help, in building up the breaches and desolations which neglect and unbelief had occasioned. Did it not inspire new hopes when, in Stuttgart, other 600, and again 1,500 hands were solemnly lifted up to the Son of God, and again other 2,000 in Elberfeld, and another 1,000 in Berlin, and almost as many in Frankfort? Thirty years ago, in most of these cities, individual believers might have said, with Elias, "I, even I only, am left." We see many more than 7,000 honouring Christ, and seeking from Him alone salvation for all the people.

At these meetings there have been not only ministers, but very

many professors of theology and of other sciences, men in office, Royal councillors, master manufacturers, merchants, and other eminent men, who, not long ago, would have deplored such a meeting as a dreary victory of a dreary cause, but would not have thought it possible that general homage should be given to what has been so long branded with the nickname of Pietism.

In these large assemblies the finest hymns of the old Church have been sung; the most powerful prayers, full of faith and earnestness, have been offered up; and proposals and consultations held on the most important objects of the religious life, at which every disciple of Christ may rejoice; and these meetings are conducted with the utmost harmony and order by laymen, such as jurists, councillors, or professors, or by those holding important political positions as distinguished deputies in the Prussian Chambers. They are not ashamed to honour Christ and to serve the Church formerly despised by the lawyers. Certainly there cannot be a more impressive sermon than when the Royal Privy Councillor, Von Bethmann Hollweg, publicly avows, that it is by turning to Christ that he has found rest for his soul, and that only a living faith in the crucified Son of God can save the nation; or when the Privy Councillor, Von Muhler, tells how the Inner Mission carries Christianity into retired corners and cottages; or the professor of law, Stahl, defends the Bible, or the Augsburg Confession, with his eminent eloquence, as few theologians can.

The most important deliberation was that in Berlin in September, 1853, respecting the Augsburg Confession as the standard of the whole Protestant Church of Germany in all its parts. Not only Lutheran divines spoke with warmth and force of the Augsburg Confession as always august, before whose parental authority we must, as dear children, without jealousy, unite, but also reformed theologians praised it as the oldest, simplest, and most generally-acknowledged declaration of the doctrines held by the German Protestant Church, and the start-point of all later Protestant confessions. Nearly all were penetrated with the wish that this purely Scriptural Confession were the national banner of the whole German Protestant Church, under which the separate flags might arrange themselves in fraternal alliance, in peace and concord. It was an impressive moment when the 2,000 men from every part of Germany gladly raised their hands, solemnly to acknowledge the Augsburg Con-

fession as the oldest common exposition of the publicly-recognised Protestant doctrines in Germany. With deeper emotion the large assembly sung the hymn, "Let all give thanks to God." They thanked God that the times of deserting Confessions were over; that the members of the Kirchentag had, by their vote, given their adherence to the true union of a living faith in the great saving truths of the Bible, and of pure brotherly love, which unites our hearts by the bonds of this faith, while it allows perfect freedom to the doctrinal differences in each fraction of the Protestant Church. This union, not indifference, but true brotherly love, is always gaining more adherents, notwithstanding the increasing vehemence of those who acknowledge the strict Lutheran as the only true Church, and who oppose all union.

The Kirchentag throws a common band around all German Christians, to whom Christ is more than the Church, the Bible more than Luther, regeneration by the Holy Ghost more than orthodoxy, unity more than identity; and concord, peace, and brotherly love, more than the success of their own opinions or of their claims and pretensions. It did the heart inexpressible good to see men from the Baltic and the Rhine, the disciples of Calvin and of Luther—the sons of races separated before by political feuds—shake hands as brethren, and to show what a wonderful power of union Christianity has, which fuses together the differently constituted parts of a country which, more than any other, has multiform and manifold nationalities, governments, churches, and manners.

13. The Benefit of the Eisenach Church Conference.

The Kirchentag is a perfectly free assembly, in which every one who stands on the ground of the Reformed Confessions may speak, be he minister or layman, learned or unlearned, high or low; but for four years past, there has been a confederation of persons holding office in the churches of Germany, by the Conference of Eisenach, every year or every second year, in Eisenach. At the foot of Luther's Wartburg Castle, deputies from all the upper consistories of Germany meet; prayer and the reading of the Divine Word introduce these illustrious assemblies of the most influential men in Germany; and thus consultations respecting the best laws and regulations are conducted in a Christian spirit. Here again, we say, who would have thought it possible, thirty years ago, when German consistories were

usually seen to favour either the half-Christianity of a vapid supernaturalism or Rationalism, and the disruption of all Church bonds? *

14. The Benefit of the Society and of the Central Committee of the Inner Mission of Germany.

It is impossible to state—what would require more than an hour for itself—the good effected by the Congress for the Inner Mission, and all the labours, institutions, and societies set on foot for the religious and moral improvement of the people, by the Central Committee of that noble society. The many benevolent societies and institutions which existed before 1848 have been strengthened and multiplied, so that now 100 societies stand in connexion with the Central Committee, and 130 asylums for poor and neglected children have been founded. The *fly-leaves*, in which its distinguished member, Dr. Wichern, conveys its reports and plans to the German nation, have already 10,000

* [In the German edition of his Essay, published by Prelate Kapff himself, after the Paris Conference, from which this translation is made, he here subjoins the following Note.—Editor.]

"As this Conference has been designated Rationalistic by the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Paris, besides noticing the purely Christian hymn-book which the Conference called into life, I must add some special remarks. At the opening of this year's session, Gruneisen, of Stuttgart, the superior Court Preacher, took for his text, 'Other foundation can no man lay,' &c.; he said, among other things, 'Other foundation can no man lay, for we are, one and all, poor sinners, without foundation or support in ourselves, without peace or joy in ourselves. No one can acquire it by the richest knowledge, for no one's knowledge can avail where he cannot attain certainty; nor by the greatest force, for no force can help where you can make and form nothing, struggle for and secure nothing; and though you gain the whole world, that does nothing to restore from its lost estate a single human soul.' Further: 'We are built, and we will continue to build, on the alone foundation of Christ—we and the rulers who have sent us hither, the classes and the congregations whom we have to represent. Our object is to represent a bond of connexion for our National Church at home, and to work for harmonious development of her action on the foundation of our salvation, which is Jesus Christ. This foundation is our comfort under the judgments with which God intends to visit the world and the Church —our comfort in the dangers which threaten Christianity from the dark bosom of infidelity, and the demoralisation of all ranks, and Evangelical Protestantism in particular, from the renewed and increased onsets of its old adversary, who, in the general confusion and desolation of the last ten years, has raised his head with higher hopes and greater pretensions than ever. Again, dear brethren, let us think on the account we must render at last; let us reflect, each one, from the heart, and pray the Lord to help us, not even by a word to leave the foundation on which we are built.' This earnest and decided discourse was received with general approbation; and it was also approved by the Duke of Weimar—another fact, which is a sign of the times."

purchasers and perhaps five times as many readers. The Central Committee works most beneficially for the sanctification of the Sabbath, for the extension of temperance, young men's and journeymen's societies, institutions for poor children, for girls, penitentiaries, visiting the poor, abolition of mendicancy, reformation of criminals and of those who have served their time of imprisonment, people's libraries, the composition of good writings and engravings, and their sale by colporteurs, religious services for youth, family and itinerant preaching, labours among railway navvies, coal-miners, emigrants, sailors, and Germans dispersed in foreign lands. From this comprehensive field I instance only one point.

The better observance of the Sabbath has been urged most earnestly by the Central Committee, through many channels, on the Governments, and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as on separate portions of the people. Already many cheering regulations have been effected by Governments, or arrangements made by separate authorities, societies, and individuals. Many merchants and mechanics shut up their shops on Sunday. In Demmin, a city of Pomerania, with 9,000 inhabitants, all the workshops have resolved to put a stop to Sunday labour and to St. Monday, and to admit no labourers who refuse to work on Monday. Journeymen's and young men's societies promise a better future to the working classes, and a powerful antidote to the pernicious doctrines which Communism scattered like sparks among tinder. Already 144 such societies of journeymen and young Christian men have been formed, making faith in Jesus Christ the ground of their union, and by this faith combating the debasement of their class. Many thousand German young men are saved by these societies from deep debasement. Already an excellent beginning has been made: instead of the wretched lodgings, in which travelling journeymen lead most injurious lives, to furnish lodgings with religious and moral discipline and order. On the Rhine there is now a whole circle of so-called pilgrim huts for the travelling members of young men's societies. The best of these lodgings is the house at Bonn, in which there are morning and evening prayers, in which the journeymen willingly join, and, on leaving, press the landlord's hand, and tell him that under his roof they have found a Christian home, which has done them good. From May to September, 1854, 800 travellers were admitted. The chief magistrates of

our cities recognise the importance of this institution, and in several places similar ones are set on foot.

The Central Committee has originated and encouraged a general German School Union for the Inner Mission, which in a short time has been joined by eighty teachers and friends of schools in fourteen branch societies, among whom are four school councillors, six directors of gymnasia and higher schools, three directors of seminaries, twenty-four teachers in gymnasia, burgher schools, and seminaries. Much benefit to our schools may be hoped from the decided Christian objects of that Union. Of the other useful labours conducted by the Central Committee, I only add, the large distribution of Bibles to newly-married couples, and depositing them in the bedrooms of inns and in prisons.

15. Benefit of Bible and Missionary Societies, of Institutions for Children and Deaconesses.

Beside the field occupied by the chief Society of the Inner Mission, very many institutions and societies are at work whose progress betokens a vigorous spiritual life. To mention but a few. We may point to the Bible Society, which has its head and branch societies in nearly every province. The Prussian Bible Society in Berlin, with its 97 auxiliaries, distributed last year 63,000 Bibles and 21,753 New Testaments. The Nuremberg Society has, in the last thirty years, distributed 186,000 Bibles and Testaments, which is about the number of Protestant families in Bavaria. In small and poor Wurtemberg, with only a million of Protestants, the Bible Society during the last year of famine disposed of 22,416, and in forty-two years of 665,370 copies of the Holy Scriptures. For the Moravian, Jewish, and Barmen Missions, in the hard times of last year, 100,000fr. were collected in our small state, and several thousand francs more for the Evangelical Society and for the Germans in France. Wurtemberg has, in the last thirty years, furnished more than 200 missionaries to different societies. It has, since 1848, sustained twenty institutions for poor children, besides three reformatories, two for deaf and dumb, two for the blind—all this by voluntary contributions, and besides the institutions supported by the State.

The deaconesses' institutions merit separate mention, of which Germany has ten. The oldest has existed in Kaiserswerth since 1836, numbers already 190 sisters and 32 stations, and it made

a fresh appeal two years ago, and had 150 applicants, of whom 70 were received. It has affiliated stations as far as Jerusalem, Smyrna, and Constantinople, and an income of 123,000f. The sisters' house, in Berlin, has forty inmates. The youngest institution has been opened this year in Stuttgart with twelve sisters; and many applicants offer themselves to this the most difficult and perilous of all services. The great motive is not the holiness of the work, but the love of Christ, and these institutions are there a quite peculiar ornament of the Protestant Church.

16. The Benefit of the Gustavus Adolphus Society.

Of the many other societies and institutions by which a newly awakened Christian life finds expression, we shall name only the Gustavus Adolphus Society. It seeks to provide churches, ministers, schools, and teachers for the poor Protestant communities in and out of Germany. In 1853 its income was 267,000fr., and it supported 173 congregations at home, and 102 out of Germany. In 1854 its income amounted to 308,400fr., nearly 40,000fr. more than the year before. With this sum 290 congregations were assisted, 181 at home, 109 out of Germany; above forty churches, fifteen school houses, and six parsonages have been built.

On the Rhine alone, within the last twenty years, twenty-five Protestant congregations have been formed by the aid of the society. It is supported by most of the clergy, and affords an admirable proof of high Protestant Union, and of zealous Christian charity. Only strict Lutherans oppose it; while it embraces Calvinists, Lutherans, and the United, with equal affection. Others are offended, because Rationalists are not excluded; but it has, after long contentions, taken its position on the ground of Church membership, and the great majority of its members do homage to Christ as their only head, and join gladly in the prayers and addresses which are delivered at its meetings.*

* At the last meeting in Heidelberg, sermons were delivered which must have filled the heart of every believer with joy. The sermons of Lange and Benda bore the most decisive testimony to the truth. Ziller, in his sermon on Matt. xxviii. 20, said, among other things: "This society will triumph over all obstacles because the Lord supports it by the might of his word, and by truth, which is always victorious, because it blesses men. The secret of its union, which has now stood severe tests, is

When we take a survey of all I have mentioned, we have cause to bend before God in deepest gratitude for the wonders he has wrought in the German Protestant Church. The desert has become a fruitful field, and the tops of the mountains are tipped by the bright rays of a promising sun. But is this the case with the valleys and hollows and ravines? How are the masses? What have all the rays of light, which have streamed down upon them from the heights of society, from nobles, Church rulers, ministers, and influential friends, effected with their newly-awakened Christian spirit and with their excellent institutions and societies? At this question we cast our eyes to the ground, and in the name of our country we smite our breast and cry out of the depths, "God be merciful to us sinners."

PART III.—THE SHADOWS AND DARK SIDES OF THE PRESENT.

1. Great Recklessness among the People.

If Rationalism has been subdued in some quarters, it prevails among the majority of the educated, and spreads more widely among the masses and the lowest ranks. If the majority of ministers preach the pure Word of God, which everywhere fills the churches, still there are many who never go to church. In most of the large cities, those who despise the Word of God are more than those who seek to be edified. And if the uncurbed democratical spirit took the film from many blind eyes, and drove them to Christ, by showing the low state of public

the Lord Jesus. Love to him is the firm bond of the union, and this love must also do the works of love. Where are we to get the means, the resources?—where the eleven got them—from Christ." Eltester, of Potsdam, in his sermon on Rom. xii. 13, said: "The want of believers is a want of salvation: a want of growth in salvation: the Protestant has received the beginnings of salvation, but it has not yet attained the point of uniting the whole Church in the only Mediator, who is, and will ever be, its Saviour.

"The German congregations, dispersed in foreign lands, stand foremost in their struggle for this end. But they want the means, and mourn over their helplessness. We must take up their cause. They are mostly the relics and ruins of mighty churches in Bavaria and Austria. Who is to blame? The answer is ready. The enemy hath done this. But he who knows not the answer is not an Evangelical. The blame is ours. Their necessity is our danger, and that danger we must meet by proper measures. Not by curses, or assaults; but drawing together in love, strengthening our brethren in faith, hope, and charity, we shall do good to our fellow Christians, confirm their hearts and hands, and raise their hearts to prayer."

morals, still by this spirit of anarchy and irreligion, which hates the Church almost more than the State, their rage is directed the more violently against those who either could not be affected by the newly-awakened Church, or were obstinately prejudiced against it. Divine Providence has not permitted this infernal spirit to gain the ascendancy in Europe which it expected; but many of the middle and lower classes have been taken in its snares, and the carelessness and indifference in which they had long indulged have been converted into a systematic infidelity, into hatred of the existing orders of the State, of the Church, and of good morals.

Nothing has so much contributed to this as the licentiousness of the press, to which the governments long allowed a free course, because they were neither earnest nor strong enough to reject the mistaken* axiom of modern philosophy—the freedom of the press is to the mind what air is to the body. Thus the unthinking multitude was misled beyond belief by a flood of political papers, which confounded all ideas of right and wrong, and, in order to emancipate the sovereignty of the people from all restraints, they combated religion with the lowest weapons. The enemies of order and authority have perceived that no stronger barrier can be opposed to their revolutionary schemes than Christian truths, and the still prevailing fear of God among the people. Hence they have done their utmost to represent Christianity as superstition, the Bible as a myth, the Church as a servile political instrument, and its ministers as the tools of princes, or else as greedy and vain-glorious aristocrats.

Thus the press breathed a poisonous hatred against princes and priests, against piety and property. Such effusions were eagerly read by the young, who were thus led into the most ruinous errors.

The mischief has been increased by the flood of novels and other bad books, which the lending libraries have put into the hands of a public otherwise not given to reading. Many resemble a fire which is still mouldering amid the ashes, and they would gladly hail a revolution which would overthrow the existing state of things.

* [It is unnecessary here to vindicate the liberty of the press, or to say that the English reader will have no sympathy with the sentiment expressed by the excellent Prelate in this place.]—EDITOR.

2. The Increase of Crime.

This is shown most in the men in whom the volcanoes of human society open their dreadful crater—in criminals, whose increase in all parts of Germany is lamented, so that the prisons are overcrowded. The extraordinarily rapid increase is remarkable since 1848: before that unfortunate year there were 14,000 under punishment; now there are 26,000; in Wurtemburg, 1,500, now 3,200. In the last-named little kingdom, the criminal prosecutions amounted to 20,000 in one year, and the civil prosecutions to as many. What deep demoralisation is thus discovered. How fearfully does the dark gulph yawn before us, close by the sunny heights which might have filled us with the most cheering hopes, if the dark side had not shown that we tread on undermined ground. To understand these numbers it is necessary to go to the places from which most of the prisons are recruited: these are the public-houses.

3. The Public-house Influence.

I am filled with grief and shame when I think of the abominations which are perpetrated in these dens of vice, of brawls, of wickedness, and all impiety. Here a large portion of our people abdicate their dignity as men, and degrade themselves beneath the brute creation. Here flows the dark source of waste to the spendthrift, and the cause of ruin to many families, of bad education, and of many vices. That the governments do so little to stop these sources of evil; that many think it wrong to deprive the people of such gratifications; and that the State cannot dispense with the large taxes which the publicans pay; that is a relic of the unholy blindness attendant on the want of a living Christianity. Permit me to unroll before you the sad pictures, over which angels mourn, of wild intoxication, of brutal violence, of the frivolous jests on God and eternity, of men who reel home at midnight to maltreat their wives and children, of youths, who, by the worst examples of low company, are carried away by levity, infidelity, and vice.

And on what day does Satan celebrate his triumphs? It is on the Lord's-day. Many even of those who, in the morning, listen to the Word of Life, drown the finest truths in streams of beer, and convert into a curse the day which should have brought a blessing to the whole week. It is a very striking fact, that most of the offences which are tried before our tribunals are committed on the Sunday, and that for them the public-houses

are responsible. It is also certain that a great number of the bankruptcies, which, since 1848, have reached an unparalleled number, are occasioned by the abuses of public-houses, and even the alarming number of prosecutions for personal assaults may be traced to the same cause.

Even among the so-called educated classes, the public-house is the source of much levity and mischevious opinions, for it is the tone in many of these associations to be indifferent about religion, loose in morals, latitudinarian and democratical in politics. In many houses domestic happiness is sadly impaired, when the father spends every evening in the week in the public-house, and leaves his wife and children to themselves. In Southern Germany, this is reckoned not only the right of every man of business, but a sort of duty he owes to society. In all the cities of Southern Germany, most of the government officials, merchants, and well-doing members of all professions, spend nearly every evening over wine and beer, enveloped in thick clouds of tobacco smoke. By these societies, the public-house is sanctioned and an influence established, against which it is vain to speak. It is scarcely credible, yet true, in most parts, there is a public-house for every 140 inhabitants; and, in 1852, in Wurtemberg alone, with its 1,800,000 inhabitants, spirituous liquors were consumed to the value of 35,000,000fr., including brandy to the value of 2,000,000fr. In Baden, in their principal prison at Bruchsal, there were, in 1847, 50 homicides, of whom 45 had committed the crime while drunk, on the Sunday. In Northern Germany, the abuse of brandy is still greater, while the consumption of other liquors is less; in Dantzic, 275 persons have died of delirium tremens within ten years, and Prussia distils into ardent spirits a fourth of her potato crop yearly. In the states of the Zollverein, brandy is made to the value of 488,000,000fr., nearly the half of all the taxes.

Who can tell how many of the noblest plants of God are destroyed by these floods of wine, beer, and brandy; and how much filth is poured on public and domestic life? Many of these meetings are such, that if a Brahmin were to observe them only for an hour, he must question how far the religion of Christians can be better than that of the Hindoos. It is striking how God punishes intemperance—that for nine years the wine has proved bad, and the long-continued dearth of grain has rendered it impossible for many to pay their usual visits to the public-houses.

To this head belong, also, eleven gambling-houses allowed by some of the lesser states, which do unspeakable mischief, and cause bankruptcy, suicide, fraud, theft, excess, and other vices. In vain has the King of Wurtemberg raised his voice, eleven years ago, in the Bund against this cancer; in vain did he try next year, in the meeting of the smaller princes, to remove these ruinous places of resort; financial considerations prevailed over the moral, and over the higher interests of national well-being. It is a small consolation to us, that they are mostly foreigners who lose their money, health, and peace at these games of chance. The lottery is a similar source of evil, which ruins multitudes in Austria and Bavaria.*

4. Dislike to Religion.

The Church and the public-house stand in inverse ratio to each other, and there are not a few who think and speak like the Wurtemberg soldier, who died in misery at Algiers. He said to a minister, "The King is my God; my church, where men jingle their glasses; and my Bible is a pack of cards." True, all our churches in Wurtemberg are full where the Word of God is purely preached; but they could not contain the people if all were church-going. Our cities and villages have the same churches as when the population was three or four times less. It is thus clear, that many can never go. The disproportion is still more deplorable in other parts, and similar to what Lord Shaftesbury complained of, in his place in the House of Lords, June 15th, 1854, that in England and Wales, with 17,000,000 of inhabitants, there are 5,000,000 who never enter a place of worship, nearly the third of the population.

Some of the strongest facts with us are the following:—The 80,000 Protestants of Breslau have one church and six clergymen fewer than they had 200 years ago, when they were only 24,000. What proportion exists in some places between the number of Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, may be seen by this, that in the circle of Neumark, in Silesia, 31,000 Protestants have eleven churches, 25,000 Catholics have forty-eight churches. There are several places where the Catholic

* In acknowledging the sins of Germany, it ought to be mentioned, that a single city of the German Zollverein, Bremen, is a mart for importing 220,000,000 of cigars annually, on which 8,000,000fr. at the least are expended. That is only one channel for the introduction of tobacco. How much might the welfare of the people, and the Kingdom of God be promoted by the 20,000,000fr., which, without the least benefit to any one, have been expended on smoke.

congregation consists of a single soul, for whom a church and a priest are maintained. The number of communicants in the chief church at Breslau amounted to above 40,000 a hundred years ago, but now to 4,000. In Stettin, the capital of the once-religious Pomerania, only seven per cent. are church-goers. In Berlin, it is reckoned that 400,000 never go, and only 40,000 go to church. In the strictly orthodox Mecklenberg, many churches are so empty that not more than 10, 15, or 20 men can be counted, and it even happens that nobody comes to the house of God but the minister and the sexton. Such instances are not without example in other provinces, and aversion to religion, the fruit of Rationalism, is widely spread; and the light we possess must ascend to the zenith, before it expels these dark shades of our un-Christian life.

Another circumstance connected, perhaps, with the foregoing, is the falling off in the number of candidates for the holy ministry, of which most parts of Germany are complaining; but which is founded also on other causes, especially on the bad prospects which ministers have in consequence of the extra-ordinary diminution of their income, which would not occur if the religious principle were stronger. In Mecklenberg, since 1841, the number of candidates has fallen from 193 to 28; in Prussia, from 962 to 576. These and other signs of religious declension, prove that the evil seed of Rationalism is not rooted out; but, like a strong weed, it spreads over the field and chokes the good seed of the Word. To this contributes the literature read by our educated classes, besides what we have already said of the popular press.

5. The Bad Influence of our Literature.

German literature presents many dark spots in its general aspect, in so far as it has become a department of industrial employment. It speaks much for the activity of our writers that they now produce annually more than 9,000 works. To give an idea of these works, I quote from the list of new publications in 1854. In that single year there appeared 9,221 German works. To take off this immense supply, there must be a proportionate demand, which becomes in many a rage for reading, and which one of our distinguished literati has strikingly expressed, by saying, that he would shoot himself if he might not read everything that was printed. What an influence must such a stream of literature have on the popular mind! It is interesting

to observe the class of works. Among the 9,221 works, there were :—

On Theology	904	Chemistry and Pharmacy	104
Sermons and other Religious Writings	506	Medicine	391
On Philosophy	92	Veterinary	24
On Literature and Encyclopædias	186	Politics and Law Statistics	722
School Books and on Education	957	On Trade and Mercantile Affairs	332
Books for the Young	251	On Building, Machine-Making, Railways, Ship-building	133
Classical and Oriental Languages, Archæology and Mythology	406	Military Science	183
Modern Languages	325	Agriculture	301
Sclavonic and Hungarian	60	Works for the People	176
History and the Auxiliary Sciences	477	Belles Lettres	160
Geography	391	Collections of Poems	283
Mathematics and Astronomy	993	Theatrical Works	111
Physical Sciences	497	Romances	234

What a beneficial influence might such a mass of books have, if they were only all good! But along with very profound and accurate works on separate sciences, and with a great number of truly instructive books, there is much which would never see the light if the booksellers did not wish to have always in their shops new articles, which are thus fabricated to order. This overflow might be tolerated if the contents possessed any merit; but much trash is offered for sale. We cannot enter into all the subjects which are discussed, but only notice generally the most important works which are chiefly read by the educated classes. We may advert to the prevailing tendencies of Humanism, Realism, Criticism, and Politics.

6. The Mischief of False Humanism.

Humanism, that is to say, the one-sided admiration of classical antiquity, has been briefly characterised by a German Professor : "He that does not understand Greek is not a man." We have still, spitting forth its venom, the spirit of Schiller, whose morality we justly celebrate, and which dictated the poem "The Gods of Greece," in which he expresses his bitter lamentations that the beautiful world of gods, the old bloom of nature, has perished, to enrich one Deity among all. That such a thought should have occurred at a time when Christianity appeared to have lost its living power in the faded dress of Rationalism, we can easily understand, but that all the deep experiences of our day, which have brought true Christianity to the foreground, so that no educated person can be ignorant of it, though on many it may make little im-

pression, can only be explained partly by a perverted education of youth, and partly by the pride to which the doctrine of the Cross is an offence and a folly. One of the present representatives of German literature, Gervinus, who has written several standard works on literary history, secular history and politics, allows no place to Christianity, and treats it as something which had better never existed. Absolute authority, according to him, belongs only to the ancients. John Heinrich taught the same views in Heidelberg. It was night in the world, till the Greeks came with their bright world of gods. Wretched Christianity has only diffused a darker night over the earth, till the Humanists restored the light of classical antiquity, and transformed Christianity, under the name of Rationalism, into a somewhat diluted Socratic philosophy, and now we are returning to the light.

We have innumerable learned and educated persons, enthusiastic for classical antiquity, who see not how plainly the dissolution of Greece and Rome, internally and externally, shows that all that kind of culture will not secure men's salvation. Very many of our gymnasium professors are filled with that one-sided admiration of the ancients, and linger with their pupils more willingly in Athens or Rome than in Jerusalem. Hence many of the high schools are continually sending forth pupils who know nothing of the deeper truths of Christianity, and then at the university they have less religion than the heathen.

7. The Evil of Perverted Realism or Materialism.

A second class of literary productions is zealous for the *real*, as it is called, and for the education which is wholly founded on the exact sciences. Here physical science has lately put forward its pretensions in diametrical opposition to Christianity, in a way that German philosophy has not before ventured to do. Thus Vogt, who was made the public Regent by the famous Frankfort Assembly, has endeavoured to push from the throne, like a fallen sovereign, Christianity, the power which still supports our states; while he, with his fellow-labourer, Moleschott, would bring back a rude sensualism and materialism, such as cannot be found in Condillac and Helvetius, and only in the highest degree in De la Mettrie. It is taught as the highest result of physical science, brought triumphantly into agreement with this philosophy, that only sensible things have truth, that matter alone is real and unchangeable, and only by the mixture of matter and by transformation,

all the differences and changes in the worlds of nature and spirit, the lowest and highest, are to be explained. The human spirit is nothing else than a product of the mixture of the substance of the body; the unity of consciousness only the echo of the unity of our body, which unity is represented in a most concentrated form in the brain—the representation of the brain by itself. All our ideas, desires, and designs are, on the one side, the result of sensible impressions, as the original source of all knowledge and spiritual truth; on the other side, the product of our organisation, on whose peculiarity alone it depends, how our so-called moral nature may be moulded. Freedom of the will and self-determination are only the delusions of our informed psychological dualism, supported by deceitful religious maxims, which surrender man to an everlasting struggle with himself—to a destructive dissension. To follow the voice of nature is the only morality and religion. The criminal is only to be treated as a sick man, and to be cured by attention to his bodily wants.

However incredible it may appear that, in our time, such views could have been expressed, we have to confess, with shame and grief, that not a few hold these opinions; and it is an alarming complaint, made by one of the best philosophers of the day, that faith is undeniably vanishing in these times: even the poetical feeling of Nature begins to be extinguished by the Realistic movement, and by the cold calculations and wants of the present hour.

Excellent writings combat, with the weapons of science, this folly of infidelity; show how it does not explain even the lowest organic substance, much less the smallest spiritual fact, and how necessarily a deeper knowledge of Nature always brings us back to the immovable faith in an omnipresent Providence—a faith which is more abundantly established by every new discovery of science.

Thus, one of the latest works by the distinguished zoologist, Andrew Wagner, of Munich, has demonstrated, by victorious arguments, against Vogt's opinions of the relationship of apes to the original human pair; that Vogt's arguments resolve themselves into pure absurdity; and that his attack on Revelation has failed, and that every attempt of the kind which rests on physical science will always fail. But the irreligious spirit of the people, which refuses to believe, allows not itself

to be overcome by writings; and there are always professors, like one in a university of Southern Germany, who, in the examination of an anatomical subject, said to his students, "Now, gentlemen, where do you see a soul there?" on which they applauded him with shouts of laughter. Of the same opinion are many physicians, botanists, and mineralogists, who believe that spirit is lost in matter, because they seek their heaven only upon earth. What such teachers say, hundreds of the people repeat, because in them the flesh lusteth against the spirit.

Practically, every effort is used to improve and embellish the material life; the divinities of industry, commerce, manufactures, and mechanics, rule, which, like the gods of Greece, are set high above Jesus of Nazareth, and Mammon worship swallows up all other interests.

8. The Evil of Perverted Criticism.

The two tendencies above-mentioned—the classical and the materialist—have a decisive influence on the numerous class of the half-educated, who have grown up in the schools of Rationalism, instructed by weak theologians who have never obtained deeper impressions of Christianity. Their love of belles lettres is shown in a profusion of poems, dramas, and novels, and sometimes in works of general reasoning; partly in books, and partly in numerous periodicals, of which more than fifty appear on belles lettres, literary history, and criticism. A part of these works contains much that is solid; but it cannot be denied that much appears fitted to mislead the reading public, accustoms it to a very superficial and careless consideration of the weightiest matters, and renders it averse to the more serious demands of morality and especially of Christianity. The too great value attached to light reading has been very injurious. If it be maintained that he is a Scythian who has not read Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," what a mistaken idea of life is exhibited, and what mischief do many books occasion by their contents! Even an irreligious and careless writer complains of the remarkable emptiness of recent German poetry, amid all the perfections of form of which it may boast. Another critic complains of the decline of the drama, and especially that so many wretched productions of French literature, especially novels, are translated and read in German. By the reading of such books, many young men and women have been ruined, their imaginations filled and inflamed with images of vice, their

pleasure in and power for industrious labour impaired, and life withered to a wretched morbidness; or it is incited by erroneous ideas, at variance with reality, without peace with God, with the world, and with themselves. Such enfeebled minds seek after an appearance of energy in low politics.

9. The Evil of Perverted Politics.

Politics is a province into which many eagerly rush. It is true, there is now a calm, after sad experience has shown that the world is not benefitted, nor the people regenerated, by swelling words. But while book-making is often employed for material improvement, so there is much political discussion in books, fly-leaves, periodicals, and newspapers; and in these, democracy, as much as the more serious views permit, preaches a more moderate Liberalism, discusses the dispute between Russia and the Western Powers, and unfolds the reasons *pro* and *con*. They often show how mistaken their judgments are, where they want the light of Christianity. We will certainly not say a word for the politics which unconditionally approve of all that governments do; the Christian rather maintains his independence of opinion, judgment, and position; but we never forget that our supreme law, the Divine word, commands us "to be subject to the powers that be," and that the duty of honour and obedience to superiors forbids us to indulge in harsh and uncharitable judgments. But how is that Christian duty trodden under foot by that un-Christian spirit which always opposes! And what injury has been inflicted on the people by so many restless and proud persons who indulge in the freest and most reckless opinions; and who appear to adopt the principle of being almost always against existing authority and order, of censuring and sneering at everything, and of keeping all in continual disquiet and discontent. This spirit prevails in the democratical papers, which alone are read by many of the people; and what ignorance or ill-will says, as if it were from heaven, is received as Gospel, and is the chief topic of conversation in the pothouse. A lamentable deterioration has spread widely since 1848. Men who, on account of their inferior education, are incapable of forming a judgment on political affairs, pronounce an opinion on everything, without observing that their apparent independence is a despicable dependance on the superficial articles of the obscure newspaper. Many of our public-house and street politicians go so far as to ascribe all the misfortunes of the times, the failure of the crops,

the hail, and the stagnation of trade, to the fault of the governments, or of its servants, or of the priests. When men refuse to bow before God, and no longer humbly confess their own sins and faults, they seek the causes of all their sufferings out of themselves, and principally attribute them to those whose high position exposes them most to envy. A Swiss paper asserted that the cholera visited the kingdoms of absolute monarchs, but not a free republic.

10. Anti-christian Public Opinion.

The influences we have mentioned—public-houses, classics, materialism, literature, politics, constitute a certain public opinion which enchains the middle classes especially, but is always penetrating further into the lower grades of the people, so the many law-agents, writers, commercial travellers, and artisans of the third and fourth rank, schoolmasters and hosts, are the chief organs of this public opinion, and utter their oracles to the lowest people. A large portion of the people take their notions from them on religion and the Bible, on Church and State, science, art, trade, riches, and poverty, national and material occurrences. Their defective education understands nothing, but pronounces on everything; whose principle it is to have no principle; to whom every profound support of truth is the more intolerable the less they can perceive its foundation; who have sense only for abstract rights of man and liberties of the people, with which all sound organisation must fall to the ground.

In this half-educated state the great want of a religious contemplation of the world is striking. All appearances in nature, and in the physical life of mankind, are deduced from natural laws, and the idea is considered ridiculous and absurd that there is a God from whom proceeds rain or sunshine, storm or hail, cold or wet, that we should pray to Him, or seek refuge or rest in Him. Thus many stand on a lower religious level than the heathen, who never deny the power of their gods.

A few specimens of popular philosophy and public-house theology may suffice. A man called Dulon, whom the year 1848 made a pastor of the Reformed Church in Bremen, has come forward as a political and religious democrat, and in a Sunday paper he has printed the following: "Sin is only a slavish mind. The highest, holiest exercise of religion, the true holy service of God, is hatred of despotism. Of the Divine com-

mandments, there can be no question. The Divine law is, to eat enough, to dress decently, to improve the mind, to be a man, a true man. That man has fallen into sin is one of the wicked words which have impaired the strength of man. O, man, whether entangled by the most shameful bands of vice, a base slave of gold, or of animal appetites, thou art and remainest always to me an object of admiration, respect, and love. The religion of the forgiveness of sins unnerves the sinner, and is a religion of destruction and death. The Church which injures the kingdom of God by defending the offensive doctrine of depravity, must be annihilated, in order to give place to socialism. There is only one power which belongs to the future, which is democracy. It is omnipotent. God is not silent, or beyond the world; he is in the world—one with it. God will be with you whether you believe in him or not. Christ is only the type of the true man; His whole operation on the world consists in this, that he throws the word of love into the world. The doctrine of His divinity is a delusion; His ascension into heaven can be believed only by the stone blind. The old Protestant faith has been the curse of the world; it degrades the Son of the living God (*i.e.* man) to a child of evil, and makes God a despot who can be reconciled only by human blood."

When the Senate of Bremen deposed this anti-Christian minister, 5,608 men and 5,356 women of Bremen presented a petition in his behalf. What a state of things does this discover. These 10,964 petitioners contributed for their deposed pastor, who is now in America, only 2,500 thalers. The German Catholic, Heribert Rau, in Mannheim, has published "Fire-sparks!" in which, among other follies, he says: "We stand not before God. We are in God, and God in us. Prayer must cease: the noble pride to labour and to create is prayer. A creative power is given to man. We enlighten the world with burning gas. We command the sun to undertake the art of the experienced painter. We form suns which enlighten cities. We annihilate the distances of space and time. We think with lightning speed. The creative will of man produces worlds." This is the public-house theology, which thousands babble. Here we see the class which daily brings greater ruin on us, and which will be destroyed, or brought to repentance, by the heavy judgments of God.

11. Too Great Liberty at the Universities.

The Universities are institutions to nourish science and train

able leaders of the people, and ought to meet the evils of a perverted popular opinion. Our twenty-four learned bodies, with more than one thousand professors, are a very important power; foci of knowledge, and the birthplaces of a higher, spiritual life to very many of the noblest men. But they have also a dark side, which is to be taken into account when estimating the intellectual, and especially the religious condition of Germany. I will not speak of the manifold abuses in the liberty of college teaching. For to maintain this liberty to a certain degree is necessary, and to guard against its abuse, is a difficult problem; but I must say a word on the liberty of drinking, and on the possibility, in many of our Universities, of unbridled youths meeting in numbers, spending time and money, sitting in the public-house of a morning, instead of the lecture-room, spending most of the afternoon, till late at night, in drinking beer, and opposing to all the warnings of their elders a disposition which cares not for God or eternity, nor the common rules of morality and decorum. It is melancholy, that so many lay students turn their backs on the Church, and live without religion.

Thus are formed servants of the State, and leaders of the people, who do not comprehend the purpose of a Church, to whom all the affairs, the servants and defenders of the State, and of the Church and of the people appear a vague enemy's country, with which they would be glad to have nothing to do; but to whose claims they must concede a little for the sake of a livelihood. Hence the mournful fact, that so many officials, physicians, advocates, and students, in all departments of knowledge, set such a bad example to the people, in the contempt of religious ordinances, in the purely mechanical performance of their calling, without spirit and life, and especially in the habit of spending every evening in the public-house.

Hence the much and justly complained of bureaucracy, whose paper government leaves the people dead, because the laws, however good, are administered in a wrong spirit, and because the persons, who hold the Divine office of Magistrates, lose the respect and confidence of the people--because they think, speak and decide otherwise than the people, to whom they ought to be the living interpretation of the law often not understood, and to be the patterns of moral and religious order. But many of them have no heart for the people, and in their evening conversations,

the chief object of their vituperation is the stupidity of the people, and in office are found many who are democrats at heart, as well as proud aristocrats, so that the artisan or peasant, who comes before them, is deeply hurt by their harsh and their curt replies, contrary to all fairness and justice. Thus the magistracy often appears only as an iniquitous power, whose commands are thwarted, instead of rendering it a pleasing duty to train and kindly influence the people, and to help them in their straits and struggles against the various obstacles to their prosperity.

12. The Neglect of Religion in the Higher Classes.

What we have already said is connected with the many defects in religion and morals, which are to be especially lamented in the higher classes. The deplorable revolutionary movements of 1848, it cannot be denied, would never have spread so wide, if the people had entertained more love and respect to the rich and the noble; if they had not seen so much evil in high quarters. We may even say that the bad dispositions of which we complain are mostly an imitation of the infidelity, frivolity, excessive luxury, profusion, avarice, hard-heartedness, adultery, and profligacy exhibited by the higher classes. You may hear every day, in the public-houses and police-courts, people saying that their betters do the same as they, and that they ought to have their pleasure as well as their masters. This sad truth has been acknowledged, in several late publications, by persons occupying very high positions. The most recent of these is Countess Poninska.* This noble lady cites, as her motto, the words, "It is a hard but true saying, the poor and the weak are deprived of their God and their humanity by the self-seeking of the wealthy and the great." She calls upon her class to halt in their grievously mistaken road, since it is by their wicked neglect that the poor have been so long allowed to remain in want, in deep general wretchedness, in the night of ignorance, in the snares of sin and depravity. She openly declares that the pauperism and depravity of the masses is chiefly the fruit of the seed which the higher classes, by their actions or their neglect, have scattered among the people. Let this testimony from the higher classes suffice. But how much might be said respecting

* "Outlines of a System for the Regeneration of the Lower Classes, by means of the Higher." Leipzic, 1854.

the manifold sins which descend from the high to the corruption of the low, over many political arrangements which might have been different, which the principles of God's Word required to be otherwise than they have been made by statesmen, Government authorities, and princes. Certainly, if they had honoured God and His holy Word more, much that they now deplore had never occurred.

13. Fashionable Christianity.

Many of elevated rank have recently made a profession of Christianity. During the Revolutionary storm, they made the acquaintance, or perhaps the friendship, of people whom they had formerly despised as Pietists. They saw that true Christians stand apart from revolutionary violence; and that religion is a secure guarantee for political quiet. This already disposed them to become better acquainted with this Divine power; and they were impelled, besides, by the profound earnestness of the age, the sudden vicissitudes of man's fortunes, by everything being suddenly called in question, by the uncertainty of the future, of which the volcanic symptoms filled many with terror; and the question which agitated all minds was, What remedies were to be applied to our moral and social evils? The wisest could give no reply; the best declared Christianity the only remedy; and thus many opened their eyes and hearts to this grand cure for the wounds of the age as well as of their own hearts. Thus very many of the higher classes have come round and shown themselves as friends of earnest and consistent Christianity. But here our sunny spots are followed by dark shades. As the sun which reached the zenith shone upon our palaces, all was light; but it again declines towards the horizon. Many of the great pay respect to Christianity, chiefly that the people may be good, and leave them in the quiet of an undisturbed enjoyment, in the quiet of the flesh, with all the claims which selfishness makes on them, even when the most powerful arguments have demonstrated their vanity. It is easier to forget than to learn what is good; and when men think God no longer necessary, they gladly forsake Him. With others it is a kind of fashionable Christianity, which consists more in pious emotion than in life and practice.

This fashionable Christianity is more frequent than ever with theologians, pastors, and preachers. Where learned authorities, where the rulers of the Church—perhaps even the rulers of the

State—enjoin a scriptural, or, at least, an ecclesiastical Christianity, how many follow the outward, not the inward, impulse, and acknowledge the confession of the Church without the great Divine work of regeneration by the Holy Ghost having begun, which alone makes them living Christians, or the great work of self-surrender and self-denial, set about with a deep sense of sinfulness and with faith in the only Saviour. They do everything externally, which may serve to signify a Christian disposition, but not for Christ's sake or from love to souls, but more to please men, or from a refined sentiment of merit, which expects a reward, if not on earth, at least in heaven. Much of the activity for Christian societies and institutions is a Martha-like officiousness, while they neglect the one thing necessary; and they may be zealous for the Inner Mission, while they are in extreme need of a higher inner mission—the mission of the Holy Spirit into their inmost souls.

I hasten to conclude, and mention only two more of our dark spots—our sects and ecclesiastical disputes.

14. The State of our Sects.

That we have sects of various kinds might be reckoned a favourable symptom, as they are a sign of active spiritual life. The full spiritual life must, indeed, resemble the simple ray of the sun, which diffuses its clear, unbroken light. In the primitive Church, the multitude of believers were of one heart and one mind: but while so many clouds overshadow the natural mind—while Satan sows tares among the wheat, we need not wonder that the powerful excitement of a new life is at first connected with many sectarian movements. The new wine ferments, and forces out the corks with which they had endeavoured too closely to confine it: so will it always be with newly awakened men, who withdraw from Church arrangements, especially when these are turned against them in an unskilful or hierarchical, or un-Christian manner. Were ministers truly to fulfil their duty—preach the Word of God purely and in the power of the Holy Ghost, and diligently care for souls in private, they would themselves awaken a new life, without the intervention of sects; the awakened would follow their guidance, and see in our arrangements salutary means of grace. Preachers would proclaim the Word of Life not only in the large, mixed assemblies of the Church, but meet also the desire for further instruction and for separate prayer meetings and Bible-classes, here and there,

in private houses; and they would take care that the people edify one another, and derive a sound spiritual nourishment from the best books. Where the minister does his duty, and is first the brother, then the preacher and pastor, then a servant of the Church, then having power in the Church, and, at last, having power in the State, sects will not easily arise, or where they do, they will soon cease.

On the other hand, when the minister does not do his duty—preaches the Word of God without spirit and life; when he only wears the black gown of his office, but not the white robe of Christ's righteousness, which every renewed man does; when he does little or nothing out of the Church, hates converted and awakened men, makes it his first object to have power as a State-Churchman, and to be lord over God's heritage, not a minister of the people, or a brother of believers; then either spiritual death will prevail, and thus there may be no sects; or if they are awakened by books, travelling preachers, or Christian conversation, or by the operation of the Holy Ghost, they will mourn that no streams of life flow, and will seek to satisfy their spiritual wants another way. They will hold private religious meetings,' they will lend an ear to men who will deliver exciting addresses on the truths of salvation, and thus we have what is called a sect. Clergy fond of a hierarchy call already such private meetings of awakened persons sects; but, surely, without justice. Such meetings rest upon a right which every man, and still more every Christian, has. Every man has a right to meet with his friends who are like-minded, and to converse on what his heart, or intellect, or desire of knowledge, represent as important. Nobody forbids people to meet for the purpose of reading the newspapers, talking over them, or any topic of the day. Shall this only, then, be allowed, where they read the news, or where they drink beer, wine, coffee, or tea? Or is it the smoke of cigars which gives to a meeting the character of being free? Must the highest object of human thought—Religion—be excluded from common conversation? Who says so? But singing, prayer, the interpretation of Scripture? If others sing secular songs, why may not some sing sacred? And who can prohibit prayer? And, surely, one may speak about the Bible as well as about the news, or the contents of State-papers, or any other topic of daily life? It is true there have long been Church rulers and clergymen who regard such reli-

gious meetings as sects, and prohibit them; but that was a mournfully dark side of the Church; and that these shadows, which the light deepens, have not disappeared—that they have been on the increase, along with the religious, ecclesiastical, and hierarchical tendencies of the age, is a lamentably dark spot in our religious condition. How does it agree with the Apostle's command, "Speak to one another in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts unto the Lord?" "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs; exhort one another daily." If careless clergymen try to prevent their members from doing this, they bring dark shades over their people, and, at least, over themselves; and it is their fault that richer blessings do not descend on their people and themselves.

Sects are only societies which reject the essence. The word sect is here taken in its most general signification. If a more exact distinction is to be taken, a sect is a society which differs from the Church in doctrine; schismatics, those who differ in worship; separatists, those who differ in reference to moral habits, especially in reference to the communion of the Church. The essence of the church is, in the first place, the Word of God and the sacraments; in the second place, the Church confession, as an exposition of God's Word; preaching, as the appointed ordinance for the proclamation of God's Word, and the administration of the sacraments by ministers and according to the Church confession. Sectarians are those who deny the Divine appointment of preaching, reject all Church order and confessions, who have expounded God's Word quite arbitrarily, and by men who have no calling for it, and celebrate the sacraments contrary to the Church order. There are several such sects in Germany, and this is one of our dark spots; especially because many ignorantly take these separations as an argument against Christianity, or, at least, against Protestantism. That is, indeed, utterly false, for where true living Christianity prevails, there are are no sects; where, on the other hand, the world prevails, parties, separations, disputes, must be considered as something natural, and even in the Romish Church, there is by no means the unity of which they boast, but very great diversity of views among their bishops and learned men. Only the force which lays fetters on the conscience suppresses the

free movements of life in the Greek Church: there are many sects in Russia, far more than in Germany. The Protestant Church justly claims for every one full liberty of conscience and belief, and a fruit of this laudable liberty is the multiplicity of sects and of views. The more they are allowed perfect liberty, the sooner they adopt better views, and the less they spread. On the contrary, the more they are persecuted and oppressed, they become more obstinate, and present an appearance of martyrdom, which attracts and dazzles others. This conviction is now gradually gaining ground, as a consequence of its adoption, and in these days sects no longer increase, and the numbers of their adherents decline.

In several kingdoms, the legality of civil marriages has been established for the benefit of these sects, and thus the necessity removed of their members being married in the church.

But, when the opponents of the Protestant Church always repeat that it is in a state of complete division and dissolution, it is one of those deceptive exaggerations which only enmity can suggest. What division is there, for example, in Wurtemberg, which is most reproached? Out of a million of Protestants, perhaps four to five hundred belong to three or four sects. In the Romish Church, out of every million, there are more than 500 who despise the church and the clergy.

The most important sects in Germany may be divided into two classes—the Rationalists and Mystics. To the former belong the German Catholics and the Friends of Light, who have joined the so-called Free Churches. The latter are in and about Magdeburg, where the seed of the most vulgar Rationalism has been sown by Uhich and Wislicen. Many members of these Churches have left them again, when their conduct shocked both their conscience and their reason. This is the case with the German Catholics, whose numbers have everywhere extraordinarily fallen off. In Vienna, the majority have silently returned to the Roman Catholic Church, and a very considerable portion have become Protestants. The German Catholic societies in Weimar, Mulhausen, Erfurt, Raumburg, Arnstadt, in Thuringia, have been quite dissolved. That in Weimar has given its capital of two hundred and fifty thalers to the Government, to be kept on the understanding, that if it be not revived in twenty-five years, the money shall be handed over to the Gustavus Adolphus Society. The German Catholic minister, Dr. Bergmann, in

Erfurt, was obliged to spend two thousand thalers of his own property, because no contributions were made for his pay; and as his complaints were not listened to by the richer members of his flock, he had no resource but to exchange his religious office for the trade of a traveller for a Life Assurance company. In Weimar and Arnstadt, the members of the dissolved societies have joined the Protestant worship. In Silesia, one hundred and fifty German Catholics, and one hundred and two members of the Free Churches, have joined the Protestant Church.

The barren unbelief, the enmity to all positive religion, the lax morals, and also the prevalence of political agitation and of anarchical tendencies, such as we find in these Rationalist societies, are not fitted to build up anything, or to edify an intelligent man. Hence their airy structures of pride and levity soon fall to pieces.

The Mystic sects, who stand on the ground of Christianity, but not of the Church, have greater power of life: as the Baptists, the Darbyites, the New Church, the Swedenborgians, the Irvingites, and some scattered kinds of Separatists. The tenets of the Baptists have come to us from England and America. The first society arose in Hamburg in 1834; and they have since obtained adherents in several kingdoms. Their number is still very small: in Wurtemberg, not more than two hundred, at the most. The stricter Baptists, from whom the moderate are separated, go to such lengths of fanaticism, as to call infant baptism the work of the devil, and to consider the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments as something which the believer can no longer use; the Lord's Prayer for this reason, that it prays for the forgiveness of sins, which the believer no more needs. That is enough to keep our people away from them.* The Plymouth

* [The Rev. G. W. Lehmann, Pastor of the Baptist Church in Berlin, spoke at a subsequent period of the meeting, in the name of the Baptist Union of Germany, which had sent two representatives to the Conference. He gave an account of the rise of their Society, which originated in the pious and self-denying labours of the Rev. J. G. Oncken, of Hamburgh. It embraced at present 5,047 members, all of whom had been baptized upon a personal profession of their faith; only such being admitted to fellowship in their Churches. Mr. Lehmann refuted many false charges which are brought against the Baptists, and spoke of the severe persecutions they had to endure in all parts of Germany. He bore an honourable testimony to the large-heartedness of Pastor Kuntze, of Berlin, the Secretary of the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance, who stood almost alone among the German clergy in treating the Baptists as brethren in Christ. The King of Prussia had

Brethren reject equally the Church and preaching, have only small meetings, in which every one may speak; and they expect a speedy coming of Christ to establish his kingdom. Their tenets came from England to Geneva, and thence to some parts of Germany. But their number is much smaller than that of the Baptists. They gain here and there a feeble-minded person, who is anxious to see the ideal of a flock without spot or blemish realised, and think it a duty to separate from a too promiscuous Church, forgetting our Lord's word respecting the tares with the wheat, that both must be left to grow together till the harvest.

The New Church is a little sect, formed by a Mr. Wörz, of Basle, who was a pious man, but could not be contented with the simple Word of God, but must add fanciful speculations and theosophy; and took much from the Romish Church; such as great respect for Mary and the saints; and condemned existing Churches as Babylon. The sect, so far as I know, has found adherents only in Switzerland, Baden, and Wurtemberg; in the latter kingdom not more than one hundred members. They are allowed to baptise and confirm their own children, and to administer the Lord's Supper. Their schools are examined by the Government inspectors. In their case free toleration, which has been given them, has proved the best means of preventing their spreading. The people regard them as presumptuous enthusiasts.

The Swedenborgians have been able to form a party, chiefly in Wurtemberg, whose members are not more than perhaps a hundred. Their numbers are less definite than those of other sects, for they seldom formally leave the church, but outwardly belong to it. Swedenborg's works were translated and printed by a late lawyer, Hofacker, and by a librarian, Tafel, in Tubingen, but they have met with but little acceptance. A minister of the Wurtemberg Church, Gustavus Werner, made the most noise, though he never acknowledged himself a Swedenborgian, yet he tended that way. As a travelling preacher, he has held meetings in many parts of the kingdom, in which he has principally inculcated the commandment of love, and urged the work of love, and of relieving the poor, with great warmth, and directed attention to the Church of the future—the Church of the Revela-

recently promised them his protection. There are Congregations called Baptists, in different parts of Germany, who are not connected with the body of which Mr. Lehmann spoke.]—EDITOR.

tion, where the false doctrine of justification by faith shall be abolished, and Jehovah Jesus shall restore the New Zion and Jerusalem. He was long allowed all freedom, as, in his addresses, he spoke very cautiously, and generally to edification. He was allowed to enter churches where many wished to hear him. But he has been prohibited since; on being questioned, he declared that he could not subscribe the Augsburg Confession. Now he has permission to hold meetings when the local authorities give their consent. The party is much on the decline, and a sect has not been formed of Werner's adherents. The Irvingites have met with very little favour in Germany. Only in Berlin has a small society been formed, composed mostly of persons of the upper class. An excellent man, Dr. Thiersch, professor of theology, a living Christian and truly learned man, made a stir by joining the Irvingite party. That noble spirit was fitted more than thousands to attract a great many. But, hitherto, only individuals have joined him secretly.

The Mormons have accomplished nothing in Germany. The agents of that sect have been expelled by some governments from their territories. The people have shown no sympathy with them. Their polygamy might, perhaps, please the heedless, but not their religion; their distortions of Christianity offend the more serious; and our people cannot understand how, in the small kingdom of Denmark, 688 Mormon baptisms should have taken place.

15. Ecclesiastical Disputes.

In that legacy which our Lord bequeathed to His disciples, the last evening He spent with them on earth, there is one of his comprehensive sayings—"Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye love one another." And in nearly every Apostolic letter, we find the exhortation to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, one body and one spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one baptism, one God, and Father of all. The more this free unity of a living faith and of brotherly love prevails—not that of constraint or of form, as in the Romish Church—the more all the members of the Church love one another as members connected with one head, Jesus Christ, and the more perfect is the church. But, the more there are separations and parties, of which the one hates and despises the other, and each considers itself the only true church, the less it corresponds to the mind and spirit of Christ.

In this point of view, many shades rest upon our Protestant Church. The Augsburg confession, the Helvetic confession, and the Union, are disputed points on which not only many and great books have been written, but which have occasioned much disgust among Christians. The newly-awakened life which the Spirit of God kindled ought to be a life of regeneration by God, in whom all ought to strive to grow in faith on the only Saviour, and in love to Him and to all His people, and then become rich in good works, and let their light shine before men, to dissipate their darkness, and lead them to the right way. But that has been repeated which has been witnessed in every age of the Church —that the majority, instead of an inner life of fellowship with Christ, fall back upon the externals, because it is much easier to be externally religious, to be orthodox, to attend public worship, than to serve God in spirit and in truth; and in a holy walk to confess Christ with the mouth, than to follow in His footsteps. Thus, in our day, many who have returned from the perverse ways of Rationalism, have sought salvation for themselves and for their age, not so much in a living faith on Christ and in a thorough change of heart, as in a stronger adherence to the doctrines set forth by the Reformers, and those who followed their dogmas. Doctrine, no doubt, is of the greatest importance; and it is the duty of every Church, and of every Church member, to form and to express it as nearly as possible to the Word of God. But there is in doctrine a distinction between fundamental and essential truths necessary to salvation, and which every man is capable of knowing, and other points—which, as profound mysteries, admit of various interpretations, or, as subordinate, may be left to the liberty of faith and conscience. The fundamental and essential truths are excellently exhibited in the nine doctrinal points, on which the Evangelical Alliance has united to recognise as brethren, or as children of God, all who truly and vitally believe them. They are shortly these: the Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, the right to read them, the Trinity, the Fall of Man, the Redemption, Atonement, and Kingdom of Christ, Justification by Faith only, Regeneration by the Holy Spirit, Resurrection, the Last Judgment, eternal happiness and misery, the Divine institution of preaching, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, as obligatory on all Christians. These truths are so momentous, and give to the whole thought and life of every man who admits

them, so decided a character, that we may receive him into the fellowship of our love, and into the eternal fellowship of the Church. And the main question will always be, whether a man allows these truths such an influence over his whole temper and conduct, that he may be considered a living member of Christ's body, and renewed by the Holy Spirit; but not whether he believes and avows the peculiar dogmas which this or that system of human formularies has adopted. That all should think alike on such dogmas is impossible, amid the great diversity of mental constitutions, of habits, of thought, from early youth; of the experience and the guidance they have enjoyed in their conversion as well as of the whole course of life. Many are the secret things which belong to God, on which it is unjust to dispute. Thus the mystery of Christ's presence in the Holy Supper may be left to the clearer light of eternity, while we are careful not to lose the chief thing, cordial love to all who love the Lord Jesus, and who seek to strengthen it by partaking of the Lord's Supper, and not to convert a feast of love into an occasion of strife.

The above fundamental truths must be believed by every one who would belong to the Alliance; on these, all the members must be firmly of one mind; but the other questions are left open, and different views need make no difference in Church communion. Or if differences in communion have been already transmitted from father to son, then it ought to be perceived that unity in the great fundamental truths of saving faith is much greater and mightier than diversity in subordinate doctrines; that brotherly love may unite both parties, and that peace among themselves is better than any dispute which destroys love.

That these principles have found too little place in the disputes between the strict Lutherans, the Reformed Calvinists, and the United in Germany, is one of the dark spots in our religious condition. Much, it is true, may be said in the way of explanation and excuse, or that sometimes the State, sometimes the Church rulers, have not sufficiently respected the rights of individuals; that union has been effected by impairing religious liberty, as it was thirty years ago in Prussia; that passion, on one side, produces passion on the other, as it usually happens in disputes; and that especially, when so many and such various minds meet, it is exceedingly difficult to preserve unity, especially with the German propensity to go to the roots of every

subject, and make hair-splitting distinctions. But it is not the less to be deeply lamented that, in many quarters, differences have prevailed more than unity, and the fundamental command of our Lord has been forgotten, that we should love one another as He has loved us.

I will not enter into particulars; but only remark, that the strictest Lutherans, who decline all communication with the Calvinists, are in Bavaria, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Saxony. The Union in Prussia has been generally so arranged, that Lutherans and Calvinists maintain their distinctions of doctrine and worship, but are embraced in the same Church government as in a higher unity, which leaves to both parties perfectly equal rights. The Union prevails through the greatest part of Prussia.

In many places, indeed, unity of spirit is better exhibited by not insisting on uniformity. When the prejudice for the specific peculiarities of the Lutheran or the Calvinistic type is so decided, or the conscience so narrow, that men think it wrong to make the smallest departure from what they have freely chosen or have received from their forefathers, each party keeps to its beloved form, only to have more mutual love in fraternal communion. Of this, the Valley of the Wupper furnishes the finest example.

That individuals, both in works and in pastoral conferences, go too far in maintaining their doctrines as alone true, and in attacking their opponents, cannot be dwelt upon here. To many it might be said, "Ye have zeal, but not according to knowledge:" to many Luther himself would say, "Was it not my meaning—love one another right heartily, as members of the body of Christ; pray for and with one another, and then see how you may take the splinter out of your brother's eye; and then never forget, there are much weightier concerns than your disputes, in which you lose much valuable time which you should spend in saving many wandering and perishing souls, and in the building up of Zion in the communion of the saints?"

Union is so much the more necessary, as the Protestant Church has to maintain the severest struggle with the Romish. The latter advances again with all the claims of canonical law, according to which the Pope has supreme and infallible authority in all matters of Church and State. All history and reason are alike set at defiance; and the love which the Son of God enjoins is, for the most part, refused to us Protestants; and that

in the most poisonous way, by the Jesuits, who aim at nothing less than the extirpation of Protestantism; but, as other reports refer to this subject, I do not further enlarge.

PART IV.—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE QUESTION WHETHER WE MAY INDULGE MORE IN HOPE OR IN FEAR, AND WHAT THE FUTURE IS LIKELY TO BRING, ACCORDING TO THE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY.

After we have thus considered the most important aspects of what is favourable and unfavourable in our religious condition, we may ask to which side the scales of the balance incline—whether to the side of hope that the light will dispel the shadows, and that the sun will shine forth victorious over the clouds and mists which threaten a hailstorm of brooding desolation and destruction, or whether we have to fear the scales of God's wrath and curse will weigh us down into deeper darkness, and make us a prey of irremediable ruin. Many believers entertain the latter opinion; they see all around them so much that is anti-Christian, that it appears to them impossible that our masses should again become Christian. In Wurtemberg, which I must again name as a territory which has most spiritual activity, a party has been formed which regards its condition as thoroughly incurable, the Church as secularised, the State as un-Christian, the high and low as sunk in carelessness, carnal delights, materialism, avarice, excess, and infidelity. Believers ought to come out of this Babylonish confusion, constitute themselves separate communities, that must seek a better home than in the swamp of obsolete Churches and States. They turn their eyes to the old land of promise, and wish to found Christian communities in Palestine, which there may form a civil and religious constitution, truly corresponding to the Word of God, and thus become the nucleus of a new people of God, which will not reach their full strength till the coming of Christ, and will then spread over the whole earth. The "Assembly of the People of God at Jerusalem" is the motto of that party, which enforces its views with great energy in a well-conducted paper—the *South German Watchman*. The editor, who is the author of most of the articles, is Christopher Hoffmann, an educated and learned man, and a decided believer; the son of the celebrated notary and burgomaster, who founded the community of Kornthal in 1819, many members of which then entertained similar sentiments, but soon returned to a more quiet consideration of their duties.

Several hundred Christians share in Hoffmann's views, and have declared themselves ready to emigrate to Jerusalem, though, as every one sees, insurmountable obstacles lie in their way. They have petitioned the German Bund to intercede for them with the Sultan, that he would make them a grant of land and of all the privileges which such a settlement requires. As a matter of course, they were refused, and most generally the members of our Pietest communities are against the movement. Are these hopeless men in the right, when they believe that there is no help for us, and that all we do is in vain to advance the kingdom of God in our Churches, States, and congregations? We can only concede to them a part of their views—viz., so far that we do not indulge the delusion, that our times are all hopeful, and that the cause of Christ will, with ease, completely vanquish irreligion. Much more every close observer of the people's condition must perceive that a large portion are so estranged from piety, and so buried in the earth, so depraved by infidelity, incontinence, debasement, and enmity, that a conversion by spiritual means is not to be hoped for.* Only the heavy judgments of God can make deep impressions on the mass of the people. But how often do we see that the clearest judgments of God make people worse and not better; as it is said of the men under the fourth and fifth seals, "They gnawed their tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds." The heat of the sun melts wax, but hardens clay; and unbelievers often become more unbelieving and hardened by tribulations, unless the Lord perform extraordinary wonders, as in the case of Paul; but he never does when he has resolved on judgments. And thus we must always reckon it possible that the judgments of God may burst on us, and we may be called to our account. The Church must watch, and be ready for each coming of our heavenly King. As the bride waits for the bridegroom, so should we, like the wise virgins and the faithful servants, never say, "My Lord delayeth his coming;" but always remember what our Lord

* Hoffman, who must have read my Report in Paris, where he in vain addressed the Conference on his views, has, in No. 40 of the *Watchman*, represented this sentence as if I had denied the efficacy of the Divine word; and then reproaches the Church and its preachers that the Word of God is not rightly applied. It is obvious, that in the sentence so much misinterpreted, I only meant to say: "A conversion of the masses to living Christianity is not to be hoped for, through simply spiritual means."

saith, "Be ye always ready, for the Son of Man will come at such an hour as ye think not."

We therefore make it our duty to observe the signs of the times. A Christian must continually consider the principal aspects of his time, whether the end be not near. We can truly say, that the principal signs do not indicate a speedy fulfilment. The first sign, before the coming of the Lord, is the preaching of the Gospel among all nations. It appears, then, that seven hundred millions of heathen, to whom, for the most part, the Word of God has not yet been published, will require a very long time. Nevertheless, with what surprising rapidity it may spread, when God pleases. We see, in the case of the Chinese Hung-sintschen, if God had wished to use him actually as an instrument, as for some time it appeared, an extraordinary movement might have taken place in the immense population of China.

The second sign is so great a falling away, that a man will venture to exalt himself above all that is called God and worshipped, so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God. Now, it is true, the impiety of many philosophers and communists, as we have said, have gone far to the deification of man, but we are still far distant from the point of our Churches and our religion being abolished; and that an audacious blasphemer of God should show himself that he is God, and hope for faith and obedience. But here again it is possible that the tempestuous clouds may collect more swiftly than any one thinks, and the de-Christianised masses may be hurried away by a storm from hell. How rapidly was that done in 1848, which one would not have expected to be accomplished in ten years. The third sign of the speedy coming of the Lord are the great movements in the East; the return of Israel to the land of their fathers; the building of a temple in Jerusalem, in which the anti-Christ shall sit, 2 Thess. ii., 4; and the formation of a large, mixed multitude, whose numbers, according to Rev. xi., 13, may be considered as 70,000, while now only 25,000 dwell there. All this seems to require a pretty long time; still, the present movements in the East show how much may soon be changed there; and when the Lord wills, he can very quickly make all things new.

If we look at those things which lead us to anticipate a longer delay, we should also reflect that the seventh thousandth year of

the world may be the great Sabbath and Jubilee in which, after His glorious second coming, the Son of God will establish His illustrious reign of peace. In this case we may reflect, that the present period of struggle for the Church of Christ will still last about 150 years, although, according to Christ's words, it is not given us to know the times and the seasons : and these 150 years cannot be ascertained, because the date of the creation of the world is not exactly known.

In the time that still remains, the struggle between the Church and the world, the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Satan, may experience frequent vicissitudes ; so that, at any one period, the one or the other may have the ascendancy. In every case we must hold it our duty, that each, for his share, work with all his might, that he himself may enter the Kingdom of God, and help others to enter. And as certainly we ought to hold it possible, that our Lord may come sooner, and that all that is opposed to Him may be more quickly developed. We ought to reckon this the more possible, because, according to the delineation above given of Germany, which will apply in many respects to other countries also, the lights and shades lie closely intermingled ; the contrasts are standing out more abruptly, so that all presses forward to a great decision.

Whatever may be determined in the councils of eternal wisdom and love, our comfort is, that we certainly know what the future of the Christian Church shall be. The bravest general, who goes into the battle, knows not who shall obtain the victory. But we know that our Lord and King shall certainly triumph over all his foes, and that all the struggles, vicissitudes, and tumultuous confusions by which His cause seems now to be depressed, will serve only to his greater glory and to the better purification and perfecting of believers.

Thus the word of prophecy affords a most glorious perspective for the future of the Church. As with Jesus Christ, its Head, the deepest suffering was the road to the highest exaltation ; so also will the Church, in her time of passion and humiliation, celebrate her glorious Easter and her forty days between Easter and the day of Ascension. During the time of Christ's peaceful reign, Satan, who now sows so many tares among the wheat, shall be bound for a thousand years, and shall no longer deceive those who dwell on the earth.

Israel shall see their crucified and glorified Messiah ; shall

awake out of their long death sleep; shall, like Saul, fall at His feet; shall, as a nation of Missionaries, rouse the Heathen, with hallowed powers of persuasion, and gather them together to Zion; and on that holy mountain will the Lord take away the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations. And all nations shall serve him with one accord, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd. That, then, is the great holy Alliance, in which all swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and all spears into pruning hooks; because true Christianity necessarily puts an end to all war, when even the pens of Churchmen and of the learned no longer write against each other, but universal peace settles all that is now separated and disunited. Then each nation and each Church will lose its impure human elements, from which strife arises, and will bring its best and fairest productions as a holy offering to the temple of the Lord. Frenchmen, English, Germans, Russians, Americans, Hottentots, Negroes, and Australians, without jealousy or envy, will love as brethren; the limitary hedges of the Church will be removed, and there will be one great Evangelical Catholic Church, and all will be members of that one Church; and thus, all the inhabitants of the earth, now changed into a glorified and paradisaical state, will be members of the great, holy, fraternal Alliance.

ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN NORTH GERMANY.

BY THE REV. DR. TAUBE,

OF BARMEN.

Having been called to supplement the general report made by the excellent prelate, Kapff, on the religious state of Germany during the last five years, I gladly commence the task by declaring my concurrence in all respects with the statements made by that eminent Christian. We had arranged between ourselves that he should take the south of Germany and I the north and the Inner Mission. I regret, however, that his report only reached me a short time ago, in consequence of which I have been obliged to work independently of him. You will kindly pardon me if certain facts are mentioned in both reports; perhaps the interest attached to them will be increased thereby.

The period we have to consider dates from the important and popular movements and the terrible catastrophe of 1848. The ravages produced by them, in every sphere of life, in every part of Germany, in the Church and in the State, are well known. It was a severe trial for our country. But—such is the consolatory effect of God's grace—Divine mercy, before the blow was struck, had secretly prepared the balm which should heal the wound: before the world was broken with the rod of iron, she made ready a confessing people, prepared to mourn over the fallen, and with the Samaritan's heart to comfort them. By a special instance of the grace of God, the Evangelical Church of Germany had just before experienced a revival which manifested itself by new energies and new efforts, not only in those blessed and well-known places where, for centuries, the sacred fire had never ceased to burn on the altars of the Lord, as in Wurtemberg, in the Wupperthal, and among the Moravian brethren, and also, during the last fifty years, in Pomerania, Silesia, and Westphalia; but, by a general movement, in all the countries of Germany.

Insensibly, within the last twenty or thirty years, the German universities had been renewed. Men full of the Holy Ghost and of faith had replaced the dry doctors, who were the last representatives of the old Rationalism. They associated themselves with the little flock of believing theologians, who, although isolated, had remained the faithful pillars of the truth, and laboured to train up, under the shield of a living theology, a generation of pastors who should be an invincible phalanx, ready to fight for the holy name of the Lord.

This fact must not, however, diminish in our estimation the trials which the German Church had to endure. It is not our intention to insulate the facts, or to consider them separately, but in their intimate connexion one with another, in their signification in a religious point of view, and in their relation to the sanctuary. I shall attempt a sketch of the religious state of Germany during the last five years, speaking first of the profound moral misery of the people which events brought to light, and then of the efforts made to bring about their regeneration.

From the time of the Reformation Germany has been chosen of God to be to the Evangelical Church a true Jerusalem, *a city of peace;* on her banner was inscribed the words, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." But notwithstanding the severest trials and the heaviest chastisements—notwithstanding wars and torrents of blood—our country, instead of keeping the living faith, fell successively first into a cold and dead orthodoxy, and then into open impiety. The German mind, more than any other, slow to assimilate things to itself, was in danger of seeing the evil take deep root before the good could be perceived. It took a century to scatter the bad seed through the different ranks of society and to reach the lower classes; and the year 1848 was the moment to manifest the extent of the evil accomplished. Its frightful ravages were seen not only in the instructions of the pulpit and the faith of the people, but in its practical effects, for it produced a general demoralisation of all classes. Must it be told? At the present moment even (and I do not speak of Hesse and the Saxon Duchies, which appear to have the monopoly of Rationalism), a person may travel through vast regions of Germany without meeting with the least sign of religious life. No more trace of the pious habits of our forefathers; no prayer at meals, no more pious books on the Sabbath, no more morning and evening

family worship, no more singing of hymns. Can we be astonished, after this, at the incredible ignorance of the contents of the Scriptures, and of the most elementary truths of Christianity; or that there should be an absence of all religious spirit and sense of morality, not only in country places, but also in large towns and among the magistrates?

The revolution of 1848 proved that in Germany, impiety, worldliness, infidelity, and demoralisation, which had long been veiled under exterior forms of religion, had attained the most frightful proportions. What was the employment of the masses both in the villages and in the towns during the hours of divine service? Whence the tripled number of public-houses and places of amusement? What is the meaning of the increasing list of criminals, the effrontery and obstinacy of precocious evil-doers when before the courts of justice; those formularies of the oath stripped of all its Christian character; suicides becoming more and more frequent in every class of society; the increasing number of perjurers, drunkards, divorces, adulteries, and illegitimate children?

All these facts evidently show to what a degree the evil prevailed. It would be too long to furnish proofs in statistical details relative to different parts of Germany.

As to drunkenness, according to official reports, there is an annual consumption of forty-six million gallons of brandy within the German Zollverein. This amount represents in value eighty-three million bushels of potatoes and sixteen million bushels of rye—a quantity sufficient to provision all Prussia for a whole year. An idea of the prevalency of this vice may be formed from what takes place in the highly-favoured country of the Wupperthal. In Elberfeld and Barmen, containing eighty thousand inhabitants, there are eight hundred public-houses, in which two hundred and ten gallons of brandy are daily consumed.

To return to what we stated concerning the revival which has been experienced within the last twenty or thirty years in our universities, pulpits, and homes; we must consider what have been the fruits of this movement, and the obstacles which may have hindered its progress. It is with joy that we refer to the blessings which have flowed from a theology and a pulpit full of faith, both to individuals and to communities. In Pomerania, in Silesia, in Ravensberg, in Tecklenberg, in Westphalia, in

Hermannsberg, and Luneberg, we encounter the evidences of a serious awakening. But how is it that Germany, taken as a whole, offers so little satisfaction on this point? Why, notwithstanding the large number of faithful ministers, are there so few parishes converted and godly?

The first cause of this state of things is not only that if the whole of our theology is returning towards the truth, the common people, as we have before stated, are slower in their advances; but it is to be found, above all, *in the actual organization of the German Church*, in the imperfect appreciation of her vocation, and in the danger which results from her too close alliance with the State. Why is evil so spread among the masses? Because the Church has neglected them, and confined her labours too much to the little flock of believers; because a large number of pastors, even believing men, too much neglect the best secret for winning hearts, the cure of individual souls; whilst they move in a sphere of abstract dogmas, and employ a language too philosophical and too argumentative to be generally liked.

If we now pass on to consider what the Lord, in his merciful goodness, has since done for the German Church, we shall have to glorify his excellent grace. "He has done great things for us, whereof we are glad." He has shown that as long as the day of grace granted to a people continues, the fearful coming of the Lord in the wind and the earthquake is always accompanied by the small, still voice of grace. When the world threatens ruin the Church triumphs. This has been the experience, in a great measure, of the Church in Germany since 1848. The great political movements were, as is commonly the case, a means of drawing believers into closer union with each other, and the Lord did not fail to gather his flock together in every country of Germany. The terrible ploughshare of the revolution made deep furrows in the field, preparing a fertile soil, that the Divine Sower might hasten to cast in the seed. It demanded the ardour of divine love to attack the evil where it was the most deeply rooted—in the masses; it was necessary to fathom the abyss, and to have the courage to descend into it. This was done. The love of Christ constrained both men and women of all classes, but especially of the higher classes, to visit families vegetating in unwholesome hovels, and to receive forsaken children, who were ready to follow in the wicked paths of their fathers; that same love taught them to seek in the prisons sin-

ners hardened in crime, to clothe the poor of the streets, to discover those poor who, ashamed to show their poverty, hid themselves in their garrets; to speak of salvation to the workmen, and to show compassion with their sufferings.

Where shall we begin, or where end, on this vast field of charity? The greater part, no doubt, is only known to Him who sees all things. I cannot speak in detail of all that was done by the religious societies.

I shall place in the first rank, for the north of Germany, the province of the Rhine and the Wupperthal. Whether the character of the inhabitants of those countries is more in harmony with the exercise of practical Christianity; or the Presbyterian constitution of their churches is more favourable for the co-operation of their members in works of charity; or whether, lastly, the purity and efficacy of the Divine Word were more felt on the borders of the Rhine and especially in the Wupperthal, it is a fact that the Rhenish province first put in practice the Inner Mission. We may mention three large institutions; that of the Deaconesses of Kaiserworth; the Foundling Hospital at Dusselthal; and that of the Young Deacons at Duisbourg. The revolution, it is true, gave them an extraordinary development. Kaiserworth has seen its numbers tripled, Dusselthal has doubled its number of children; there are now 237; but in former years it was equally flourishing. Other institutions, having the same spirit of charity, were in existence at the same time—such as the *Rhenish Westphalian Society for Visiting Prisons*, the *Pastoral Aid Society*, the *Society for Germans in North America*, the *Educational Society of Neukirch*, and the *Young Men's Christian Association;* all of which have, since 1848, considerably enlarged their spheres of action. The Wupperthal has been, from the beginning, the seat of institutions of the most varied character. The *Foreign Missionary Society*, the *Bible Society*, the *Tract Society*, the *Prisons Society*, the *Pastoral Aid Society*, the *Gustavus Adolphus Society*, the *Protestant Union*, whose prize essays have already made such inroads upon the enemy's camp; the *Temperance Society*, and the *Deaconesses Society*, three or four Unions of young men or of young women. There are 50,000 poor persons, or persons of limited means, among the 80,000 inhabitants of this valley; and yet the annual donations and collections amount to £15,000. It is no unusual thing to see merchants carrying a sum equal to £75 sterling into their annual accounts, as contri-

butions to charitable purposes, without counting their gifts to the poor, which form an important item. Charity is exercised, in this valley, on a scale not met with elsewhere, except it be in Wurtemburg. They exemplify there the communion of saints; hand is joined to hand, heart unites with heart, for the edification of the Church; and there is scarcely a wound which vice can make but good Samaritans are found working together to bind it up. These blessings were largely manifested in 1848. It can be proved by the activity of the *Evangelical Society of Germany*. When at that period the miserable state of many millions of souls was perceived, a small circle of brethren in Christ joined together to send forth evangelists and colporteurs—simple men, but well established in the faith—who carried with them for sale the Scriptures and pious books—such as the *True Christianity* of John Arndt, the *Prayers* of Stark, the *Sermons* of Hofacker, and thousands of excellent tracts. These men knocked at the doors of rich and poor without distinction, talked with those who opened to them of those things which make for our peace in this and in the next world, and brought back to the fold of the Lord many a wandering sheep. The last report of this society stated that 34,000 volumes had been distributed during the course of the year then closed. Up to that time, the labours of the society had been confined to the neighbouring countries—Westphalia, Nassau, Hesse, Lippe-Detmold; but since then, the help afforded by a pious merchant of the eastern provinces—a true merchant in the kingdom of God—who had himself been distributing religious books with most remarkable success, has enabled the society to add to its six colporteurs thirty similar labourers, who now traverse the whole of Germany. Besides this society, two educational societies have been founded since 1848; the object of which is to place in families children abandoned by their parents, just as the society at Neukirch does.

Beyond the Wupperthal, the revolution provoked the first meeting of the Kirchentag in the eastern provinces of Prussia, an institution which has since met every year, and has become the central point, so to speak, of all the aspirations and of all the efforts of the regenerated Church of Germany. Issue of the wants of believing hearts, it has gained, in a high degree, the protection and the favour of most of the heads of the national Churches. If the revolution has permitted us to measure the degree to which evil had attained among the German nation,

the Kirchentag has shown what excellent powers Germany still possesses, and how much of the pure leaven is hidden in her bosom. The principal importance of this association is, in our opinion, its having been able, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, to discover the fundamental vices of our Church, and to point out their true remedies. I might cite the energetic petitions of this assembly, addressed to the governments of the Palatinate of Baden, of Oldenburg, of Schleswig, where the unhappy members of the body of Christ were injured in their most sacred rights. Still further, understanding most intimately the German character, and believing in the principle that the salvation of the people must emanate from the domestic hearth, the Kirchentag has sought to provide in 130 houses of education an asylum for the 300,000 children abandoned by their parents, and who were sinking to a level with the brutes, in Pomerania, Prussia, and on the borders of the Rhine, either living in idleness or working in the factories. It has formed asylums for servants at Berlin, Hamburg, and in the Rhine Provinces; and associations of apprentices and journeymen. The *navvies* on the railroads, the turf-cutters on the Oder, the sailors and emigrants in the Hanseatic towns, have been the especial objects of its labours. It has also attempted to extend its action to family life in general, endeavouring, by the most efficacious means, to replace it on a Christian foundation; its fifty colporteurs labouring in eighteen German States circulate the Bible; it has founded and supported numerous auxiliary societies, which republish the writings of the Reformers and ancient heroes of the faith.

It may also be stated that in less than two years 250 young men have been demanded of the well-known Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, as city missionaries, gaolers, and directors, and assistants in charitable institutions; it has been, however, scarcely possible to furnish fifty.

One of the most remarkable signs of the times, and which also proves the intensity of the revival, is the desire, begotten in the bosom of the Church, for a return to the noble inheritance of our fathers, our *religious hymns*. Singing is a power in Germany, and the Germans are particularly gifted in this respect. German hymns are one of the most magnificent productions of the Reformation. But this excellent food from heaven, this daily bread, which has become so needful for Germans, was taken from us by Rationalism. Those hymns which our fathers

sung with clasped hands were cut and fashioned by men without faith in such a manner as entirely to destroy their character. In this, also, the last few years have brought about a return to primitive simplicity and piety. The people have clamoured for their old hymns, and the Kirchentag has responded to this legitimate cry by appointing the Eisenach Conference, in which the deputies of the different German Churches began by designating one hundred and fifty hymns, which are to serve as a bond of unity for all Germany.

Other Societies have been formed to counteract a vice peculiar to the German nation. The Temperance Societies up to 1848 were conducted in a false spirit of philanthropy, and their constitution consisted of the most curious variety of elements. Romanists and Protestants, infidels and believers, were joined together in them, but the troubles of 1848 shook them to their base, and condemned most of them to a melancholy inefficiency. Since then new societies have been formed on truly Christian principles, and although their success has not been so extensive, it has been more solid—the number of members in North Germany not being more than 20,000. The plan of legislative suppression, so successfully adopted lately in England and America, has not the least chance of success in Germany, notwithstanding the monster petitions lately presented in favour of it.

The general view we have to give of the activity of the National Churches is equally pleasing. The attacks of radicalism on the Church and the State have not been without fruit, and have conducted to important reforms.

In Prussia, thanks to the favourable feelings of the King, immense strides have been made. To the office of the Minister of Worship, a superior ecclesiastical council has been united, consisting of men eminent for their faith, who have appointed a number of faithful pastors, and removed those acknowledged to be infidels; organised a general visitation of the Churches, and directed their special attention to Protestants dispersed among Roman Catholics. These visits have been peculiarly blessed in their results. The visitors have gradually overcome the antipathies and opposition of the Churches, exhorted them to return to a living faith, and addressed with great frankness pastors, schoolmasters, and heads of families on the subject of worship, the moral and religious state of their parishes, and the religious instruction of the young.

To the energetic activity of the ecclesiastical council we must add, the mention of a measure taken by the Minister of Worship, which cannot fail to have an immense influence on the general organisation of the National Church. He has lately issued three ordinances, designed to re-organise the entire system of public instruction upon an essentially Christian basis.

We may also remark, that similar ameliorations have been made in several other countries.

ON THE UNIVERSITIES OF GERMANY.

BY PROFESSOR DORNER,

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

It is with great pleasure that I have accepted the invitation to attend this Conference. With joy I bear my testimony to the Catholic spirit of the Gospel which obtains among us, with respect and love towards brethren of all other denominations; and I am profoundly glad to be able, by my presence, to manifest the sympathy and the admiration which I especially feel for the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches of France—those noble and tried members of the Protestant body.

I have been requested to present a report on the Universities of Germany. It is a subject worthy of attention—worthy of the assembly. May I be enabled to treat it as it merits to be treated. May I be able to justify our German Universities, which have been so frequently incriminated, especially in other countries. If I succeed, I shall have contributed my feeble part in accomplishing the object of our assembling here.

I delight to think that an assembly like the present must be profoundly penetrated with a sense of the Divine mission of Evangelical Christianity in the world. Doctrinal rallying points cannot be extemporised, nor can common organizations be created; but obstacles which prevent the interchange of thought and reciprocal confidence may be removed, and the bonds of a mutual support may be strengthened.

Having been invited to speak on the subject of the German Universities, I must speak of what constitutes them. Everything great lives, not by its defects, but by the spiritual force which created and sustains it. For this reason, without denying the defects of our universities, I shall confine my remarks to the bright side of the question.

Let me mention some general details of our university organization. There are about 1,600 who give instruction in our twenty-eight universities; the average number of students is

more than 16,000. They commence their course at the age of eighteen or nineteen years, which extends over a period of three or four years.

Our universities are located in Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Erlangen, Fribourg, Giessen, Gottingen, Graetz, Greifswald, Halle, Heidelberg, Jéna, Inspruck, Kiel, Koenigsberg, Leipzig, Marbourg, Munich, Ollmütz, Prague, Rostock, Tubingen, Vienna, Wurtzbourg, making in all twenty-four; to which we must add the universities of Basle, Berne, Zurich, and Dorpat. The universities of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Holland, are in intimate relationship with our own. An alliance, organized in many ways, exists between the German universities. They consider themselves as members of one great body—in a word, as the universities of one entire, undivided country. Students, in considerable numbers, go from one to the other, and professors have the liberty of accepting a call from either of them. Each university of any importance distinguishes itself in some particular department of education; in some cases this is possessed traditionally. Some are resorted to, and celebrated, as the focus of high philological instruction; others of the natural sciences; others of history, of law, of medicine, or of theology. In each of these branches of learning there are certain points which give to particular universities a greater importance. In theology—for example—one university will be more celebrated for the study of the Old Testament, another for the exegesis of the New Testament, a third for its historical or philological studies, and a fourth for its dogmatic, systematic, or practical theology. As either of these theological subjects rises into more than ordinary prominence, those universities are, for the time, the most frequented in which it happens to be the best taught.

Strangers take notice for the most part only of the exterior of German student life; as, for example, the clatter of their spurs and swords, the colour of their caps and ribbons, the insignia of their different bodies and societies, the noise of their songs and choruses. The bearing and language which characterise the student; the academical liberty which he enjoys; the prerogatives allowed him by the rest of society; as, for example, the court of justice, or *academical forum*, to which alone he is amenable in all cases, except those of a criminal nature, fill them with astonishment.

It would be unjust to judge the students by these things alone. If they live in a world of their own, which has its privileges, it is in order that they may devote themselves in solitude and meditation to the study of science. Most of them know the value of their academical years, and employ their hours of study either in attending the university lectures (on an average occupying from twenty to twenty-five hours per week) or in pursuits of their own. Many of them attend scientific meetings, conducted not only by the professors, but also by the students themselves, in which they discuss subjects and deliver essays. Some of these associations are expressly organised on moral and Christian principles. As in general, each association of students exercises the right of excluding dishonourable members, a sort of free discipline is thus established, stronger than that of any other kind.

It is time to speak of the scientific constitution of the universities.

Industry has for some years had its exhibitions, which pass from nation to nation. The German universities, with their establishments, their professors, and their scientific riches open to all, are like permanent exhibitions of human science. But they are more than exhibitions—they are laboratories of science. They are more than meetings of individual savants; they are the *foci* of superior development for the whole nation.

I must now attempt to explain, in a general manner, the spirit which presided at the organization of the university system, and which still vivifies it; but I shall do it by taking into consideration more especially the respective positions assigned by the German nation to science and to Christianity. I shall, therefore, speak principally of theological science and of the theological faculties in Germany.

The mother-idea of the university has been expressed in a most noble manner by many princely founders in their letters of foundation; and it is this idea which has made the universities, notwithstanding all their defects, to be as jewels in the estimation of the German nation. Germany does not consider them as mere ornaments; they are watched over with a jealous solicitude, as being the most valuable of all property. To them are confided the *élite* of the youth of Germany, the sons of her princes and of her kings, destined one day to conduct the affairs of state, and the sons of her functionaries, of her men of science, and of her citizens.

These letters of foundation generally declare that the universities are established for the glory of God and of his Gospel; for the blessing of the human race, the advancement of Christian knowledge, and the fear of God, and for the development of the arts and sciences which ennoble the life of man.

As may be easily seen, there is no fear that science will be injurious to Christianity; nor the desire to take refuge under the shadow of a timid and vague religiosity; but the full expression of the confident joy of Christian faith, with a consciousness that the world belongs to it, and, as the consequence, the unceasing effort to gain an intellectual conquest of the world by the reign of God and of Christianity.

The University is designed, by the comprehensive range of its studies, to prevent scientific exclusiveness, and to cause the general, universal, human point of view to predominate everywhere over the special point of view. It strives against that narrowness of spirit, which produces studies of too restricted a nature, bringing all to one centre and one focus.

Care is taken, above all, to bring the students into communication with the sources; at the same time, great liberty is given as to the studies. The students are free in their choice of lectures, and the professors equally so in the manner of treating their subjects. As long as this liberty is maintained by the professors and the pupils, the Church will not want men who will have made an experimental acquaintance with the internal influence and regenerating power of evangelical truth.

Thus, each university endeavours to unite, and to present within its own circle, by means of its collections, its institutions, and its libraries, as nearly as possible a complete picture of the universe, in which Christianity occupies its own place. Nothing that possesses a scientific interest can be deprived of its right to present itself before the learned assembly.

Answering to the sentiment expressed in their letters of foundation, the world appears to the eyes of the German Universities as a vast whole, governed in its entire extent by one law, the manifestations of which are infinite, but the principle one. This is the profound and immoveable impression made on the mind of every faithful disciple of science by those silent but ever active laboratories of the human mind, an impression which developes the sentiment of a divine harmony and of a peace full of life. The most intimate centre of the harmony of the world, the holy focus

of that profound peace which sustains the world, is found in the reconciliation made by our divine Saviour; to whom belong the praise and the glory.

The German universities include theology in their course of studies, to show that the great directing power of the universe is that of the Saviour. When they are faithful to their mission, they exhort and invite the young minds which they develop, not to content themselves with what is beneath and around a man, but to rise to that which is above him, to those Divine things without which even human things are not human. On the other hand, they point out the greatness and the riches of this world, in which Christ will be glorified in proportion as it is changed by the Gospel. Christianity was given to the world to save it, and to lead it to perfection; no other manifestation of its magnificence is needed. Creation, redemption, and perfection agree together. The more a man becomes a Christian, the more he becomes a man in the true sense of the word—that is to say, a man of God; such as he was in the designs of God when God created him in His own image.

It may, perhaps, be asked, if the universities, with their immense scientific liberty, are capable of serving the truth? We reply that truth is a queen, who, the moment she appears, is welcomed with love by all those who seek her.

As to the allegation, that the influence of the German universities has turned rather to the profit of infidelity, it shows, in our opinion, little Christian impartiality, and even an entire ignorance of the true state of things. Where is the man, never so little acquainted with our pulpit literature, that does not delight to acknowledge in it a great richness of profound and evangelical thought—in a word, a living Christianity? Were not all those men full of piety and zeal, who not only by their sermons address the Churches, but, by means of the press, speak to a much more considerable public, formed in our universities? Take our exegetical literature, so rich and so vast, the works of Tholuck, of Lücke, of Neander, of Bloeck, of Hoffman, of Meyer, of Harless, of Schmidt, of Hengstenberg, of Ewald, and many others: have they not drawn immense treasures, with full hands, from the Holy Scriptures, during the last thirty years, and that for the good of entire Christendom? Have not France, England, and America derived profit from them? Have not those works, known to foreigners by the numerous trans-

lations that have been made of them, quickened a zeal for deeper researches, and caused theological studies to be most seriously pursued? They have been as the living waters, penetrating and fructifying the souls of thousands of individuals; they flow in the collections of hymns, in Christian art, in works of edification, but especially in theology, properly so called. Thanks to their benign influence, we have seen the dogmatic and the moral transformed, and putting on a new life. Even we ourselves have returned with much more respect, love, and gratitude, to our great reformers; for although not infallible—the Word of God alone is infallible—they present themselves to us as men who were so strongly nourished by the Holy Scriptures that we are constrained to say that it is to them they owe their powerful individuality; and thus they give a full testimony to all the grand truths of which they were the champions. Those glorious truths of the Scriptures, which at the same time are facts, are not isolated truths, having no mutual connection; they form, on the contrary, a well-constructed whole, an organism, a system—in a word, a *unity*—as God, who has revealed himself in them, is one; as the human mind, which must appropriate them, is one, so are they also one. The more, consequently, a person advances in the knowledge of these truths, the more he discovers their relations and their links. But in Germany, the thinker, the educated man, knows no greater gratification than to be able to seize this great unity in the works and thoughts of God, to admire it, and to meditate on it in silence. It is with them a kind of gratitude for the gifts of God to subject them to thoughtful examination, so that we may be able to obtain on earth an interior image of that invisible world where the Divine thought moves: so that Revelation may not be veiled, but shine forth in all its splendour; so that, in short, the directions and the dispensations of God, which we gather from history, may be, so to speak, eternalised in an ideal and continuous present, and cast a new light on that organism, that wonderful whole which we call the kingdom of God.

But Strauss? . . . . Are not he and his the children of German theology? Although Rationalism was first propagated by English Deism, has it not in Germany, and there alone, been clothed with the robe of Science? We answer these questions by asking another. Is Infidelity confined to the German nation? Has it not reached all the nations of Europe? Does it not reign

in Roman Catholic States, and in England and America? If it is thus, I ask, is Infidelity more dangerous and more enduring when expressed in scientific formulas than when presenting itself in the more vulgar form of ignorance? I acknowledge that the Infidelity which hides itself under a scientific exterior has something more attractive for the higher classes of society, and that it is more easily rendered popular. Still, error can never by itself form a system, an organic whole; every error lives only by the life it receives from the truth it combats. Rationalism is a fire which is sustained by what it consumes; it is not a self-sustaining fire. Truth has but one adversary—error. All error, on the contrary, from the fact of its subsisting only by corrupting the truth, has two enemies—truth and itself; for error, at the bottom, is its own most formidable foe. But science, in advancing and developing itself, cannot fail to unmask the contradictions and to overthrow the error which attempts to form itself into a system. Thus a scientific Infidelity is, in reality, the least formidable enemy of Christianity; for its crisis can never be far off; it hastens it by its own acts, and the result must inevitably be its own condemnation. Whilst an ignorant Infidelity is not, therefore, the less infidelity, and when beaten in one form, re-appears in another, German Rationalism accepts examination and agrees before-hand to abide by the result; it stands ready to pronounce condemnation on itself, if it can be convicted of inconsequence and contradiction; for it has never abandoned the belief that there is such a thing as Truth, and that harmony and unity are its distinguishing characteristics. Thus, in labouring to become a scientific system, Rationalism works out its own destruction.

It may be said, perhaps, that had Germany produced error only under one form and one system, it would be well thus to argue; but German Infidelity has manifested itself in a thousand different systems. This is true, we confess; but it is on this very account that Christian truth has been so easily able to maintain itself against them; every new system being an ally of the truth, by undertaking to show the weakness of its predecessor.

It must not, however, be thought that the men who exercise the most influence on the public mind of Germany have undertaken the mission of spreading Infidelity among the masses, and of overthrowing Christianity, as those persons did who, in the

last century, called themselves the defenders of light. It cannot be denied that our great philosophers have sought the truth. It may be objected that, so far from strengthening Christianity, from setting it forth in its simplicity and its power, they have not even found it; that they have often disfigured it, and have ended by refuting one another. But will you really demand that reason and the human intellect should build up and demonstrate Christianity? In that case, Christianity would be nothing more than a creation of the human mind, and having recourse to such proofs to establish its truth, it would but demonstrate itself to be unnecessary, and establish the sufficiency of reason. If, then, you cannot ask philosophy to do that for which it has no power, do not, on that account, say that it has done nothing, when, by the voice of its great thinking, it shows us how man ceases to be an intelligent creature the moment he has no more faculty to occupy himself with the absolute and the divine. In attempting to construct the edifice of truth by the simple force of the pure intellect, German philosophers have once more proved the impotence of the human mind, even in the deepest and most serious thinker. These tentative efforts of human thought, in accomplishing the great evolution which, for more than a century, has so profoundly agitated Germany, and which, in our times, has reached its climax, have clearly established the fact, and that for ever, that intellect is not everything; that religion and the moral sense are independent forces, which intellect has not produced, although they may be an object, an aliment of its activity; and, lastly, that intellect alone is not enough, that will is needed—in a word, the entire soul, in order to live, and to know, in the domain of religion and conscience.

It is true, no doubt, that these philosophical systems have helped to spread abroad many false and pernicious ideas, which flatter man; but theology and the Christian Church are there to combat with Infidelity, whether presented under a scientific or a popular form. The question may be summed up thus: Infidelity being natural to the heart of man, and having its seat there, has Christian theology any reason to complain of its open manifestation or of its taking a scientific form? To this question, I answer decidedly, No; especially when I see how much —thanks to the influence of philosophy—the spirit and the heart of the Evangelical Church have been set free from those chains with which scholasticism had bound her; how much confessional

struggles have been softened down by the common necessity of defending the fundamentals of the Christian faith ; and how a new field has thus been opened to the regeneration of theology and the brotherly communion of Christians. I admire, above all, the ways of the Lord, who has served His own cause by the influence which philosophy has exercised on the German mind, since it has forced theology to a deeper study of its principles, and to a more diligent examination of the Scriptures and of ecclesiastical history. Yes, we may now even ask whether there is a single person endowed with intellect who would wish that the attacks of Strauss, in the "Life of Jesus," had been suppressed and put under lock and key, rather than publicly proclaimed, and as publicly refuted? It is true, the quiet meadows, the flourishing grass-plots of theology, were submerged for a time by wild torrents, which have even left deep furrows behind ; but the danger gave power to work, and multiplied the dykes and canals which protect the soil. The ground thus worked has become more fruitful, and hidden treasures have been brought to light. Finally, it must not be forgotten that in all the new philosophy, so much of it, at least, as has remained true to its name, *the love of wisdom*, there may be discovered, in opposition to that which preceded it, *a Protestant spirit*, which is not without its relationship to the genius of Christianity itself. For what is it that has inspired the work of the thinkers? It is nothing else than the desire of the human mind to attain to an individual certainty concerning truth ; to that conviction, without which man will always be the sport of every vicissitude of the human mind, or the slave of a blind authority, whether called Church or tradition ; an authority which robs God of what belongs to Him alone.

The great error of this philosophy is, having sought truth in the narrow and sinful mind of man. But the attempt to penetrate the truth given by God is just and legitimate.

Such is the point of view of the theology which, among us, is called the modern theology; and which has left behind the old Supernaturalism and the old Rationalism. It does not desire to make the human mind either the source or the seal of the truth. It knows that the creature, stamped with sin, is not the truth, and has not the truth in him ; but it also knows that the creature, formed in the image of God, demands the truth, and cannot live without it. This intellectual aspiration, implanted

by God, and which He will not deny, renders the soul capable of knowing what it has need of. This is the attraction of the Father, Creator, Lawgiver, and Judge, which draws to the Son (John vi., 44).* Already, before personal faith, the image of Christ announces to us (and this is what the Church preaches) that in Him we shall find that which we do not possess, namely, holiness and purity, and a blissful communion with God; we see clearly, while we contemplate, that the fulness of purity and of happiness which is in Him, is also for us; and that the new world, of which He is the centre and the chief, opens itself to our view.

Pursuing thus, with energy, this personal appropriation of the truth, the modern German theology follows in the footsteps of the great Reformers, and their work exhibits itself with continual freshness. It renders to Christianity the glory which is its due, not suffering anything to be substituted for Christ, and never deserting Him, the living Saviour, for a human head, for the Church, or for tradition.

The new life which appears in the German Churches, the home and foreign missions, the schools, the regeneration of worship, proves to us that God has been pleased to bless their doctrines. The work is only just begun, and there remains much to do, much to combat, and much to destroy among the German people. Many storms yet threaten the blessed seed; but this theology has only to go forward, for it is a faithful helper to the practical labours of the Church. It produces great good to the Church, and the latter, in return, renders it the same.

But this good it will not produce if it be not permitted to move freely, or be prevented this free appropriation of evangelical truth. It seeks not to mechanise or to subjugate the mind, not even in the name of truth; and if any should attempt to render it mechanical by the yoke of tradition, he would destroy its life and reduce it to the condition of a corpse.

It still remains for me to justify German theology from another accusation brought against it by Christians of other countries, relating to Scripture criticism and inspiration. Before doing so, I feel constrained to beg you to believe that our Christian divines

* Is this really the meaning of the words of Christ? Does He speak of an attraction which all men feel? We will allow the reader to judge, only regretting that we cannot admit the exposition of the learned and amiable professor.—FRENCH EDITOR.

rival you in respect and love for the Word of God. I think you possess sufficient proof of the humility and of the faith of the wholesome exegesis of German theologians; for you fill your libraries with translations of our exegetical works. Certainly you will not deny the power of Luther's faith; you would rather desire to be its possessors. Yet he did not adopt the received canon without examination. Allow me somewhat further to explain this subject. Before the Reformation, the Church acknowledged the Apocrypha to be equally inspired with the Word of God. Without an alteration of the judgment of the ancient Church, the Apocrypha would have continued mixed up with the Word of God, and the erroneous word of man would have retained its value as part of the Divine Word, to the detriment of the true Word of God. You will acknowledge that it was no impious act of Luther to assign to the Apocrypha an inferior place to that of the true Word of God, in contradiction to the Roman Catholic Church. For fidelity to God's Word has two duties to discharge; the one, to receive with humility and gratitude that which is truly the Word of God; the other, not to give that title to that which is not God's Word, even when the Church of a particular epoch requires it. If this principle must be admitted when it concerns the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, it ought not to be required that faith should bow, without examination, to the fallible judgment of the Church on other points of criticism. It is not a question of judging divine things, but only of proving them. There is a criticism which is the daughter of impiety, just as there is a faith which is the daughter of a blind and external authority. As this faith is in no wise the faith of the Evangelical Church which saves, but may only be, according to its form, a superstitious faith, making that which is human to be divine, so this criticism, the child of impiety, not acknowledging any divine revelation, humanising that which is divine, is no true criticism, and is not the criticism of the Christian theology of Germany. We desire a criticism which is the reflecting child of faith; not the simple faith of authority, but of the true faith, such as that of St. Paul, of Luther, and of Calvin. We will not have a faith the child of science, its slave and its creature; neither will we acknowledge a science which is the slave of tradition; it must be the child of a true faith, living by the tradition of the Holy Ghost, and renewing its youth continually by the Word of God. Wherever this faith has lived,

it was the Apostolical word which gave it life, whether that word came by one Apostle or by more. It is in this Apostolical word that faith recognises Divine truth, and it must be held as firmly as faith's own being; and for this reason it need not be feared that the whole edifice will be shaken by criticism because the door is opened to it.

You will, perhaps, say—"The criticism of faith may be permitted; it is necessary; it is useful; but if you allow it, you must give the same liberty to the criticism of Infidelity; and who then can say that everything will not be shaken?" We reply, that the criticism of Infidelity necessitates the criticism of faith. Faith must never, never have any fear of science, or of the criticism of Infidelity; it is the evidence of a weak faith to suppose that science can injure the truth; rather it is an essential article of true faith, that evil spirits, as well as good, are subject to the name of Christ; it is a proof of faith in the truth, of the conquering power of Christian faith, to believe that there exists a real harmony between the fundamentals of science and of Christianity.

The colloquy, indeed, between faith and science may sometimes become very animated, and put on a character that shall occasion alarm, but truth will always triumph.

One word more on the *Inspiration of the Scriptures*. German evangelical theologians unanimously acknowledge that the Apostles of the Lord and their writings were inspired by the Holy Ghost. All acknowledge that it is by the words of the Apostles only that man can come to faith in Christ, whether mediately or immediately; and they are persuaded that the care which the Lord has taken to secure their transmission pure and uncorrupt is one of the constitutive acts of Christianity; this transmission could be guaranteed only by the Scriptures. The German Christian theology believes, therefore, that these books are inspired. But it makes a distinction between the divine fact itself of the inspiration of the Apostles, and the human theories which have been propounded upon it. Neither of those theories can claim the same infallibility. This alone remains positive, that the Holy Scriptures offer, in every age, the objective source of knowledge, sufficient to make us wise unto salvation.

In speaking of German Universities and Faculties, I have been led to speak of German theology; but I have not turned aside from my subject. Take away from our universities their

theological faculties, and you deprive them of their centre and the representation of the highest interests of man in the field of science. Our theology needs this contact with the intellectual life of the people. It needs the strengthening and sharp air of public life and intellectual activity.

One of the victories of Christianity, and one of its glories, is to penetrate into the recesses of intellectual life, and to illuminate the human mind by Divine wisdom. To this end she makes use of science. The fear which this science inspires comes not from the faith which overcomes the world (1 John, v.), nor from hope, which neither fears nor flinches; nor from love, which testifies its gratitude and its piety by the joy which it experiences in knowing the truth. The Lutheran Churches shall thank God for having given you, who call yourselves Reformed, that noble and valorous spirit, without fear, without anxiety in everything that is practical. But I would that you also should bless God for the gifts which He has bestowed on the German Churches, and especially as it relates to theology; that you would learn to consider it without prejudice and misapprehension, and to acknowledge that this also is a part of the work of the Spirit of Christ, which should be neither misconceived nor forgotten.

THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS OF GERMANY.

BY THE REV. A. F. THOLUCK, D.D.,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

On the conclusion of Prelate Kapff's paper, Professor Tholuck spoke as follows :—

I must first bespeak your indulgence for addressing you orally rather than in a written paper. I know how delicate and even capricious your language is, and at how much risk a foreigner uses it before a Parisian audience. Nevertheless I venture to do so, knowing that this auditory is not only Parisian, but also Christian, and will lend me not simply their external ear, but the ear of their heart.

The subject which I have to bring before you is the spirit of our theological students; and I must first point out the two principal differences which exist between our universities and those of other countries, especially the English. Whilst in England, general knowledge, and particularly classical studies, are the principal objects of university education, and while special studies are left to individual application, the contrary is the case in the German Universities. There special studies are the only objects of instruction, general studies being pursued in colleges, and regarded as finished when the young man arrives at the University. Further, while in England, the country where the citizen enjoys the most complete independence, university young men are placed under the strict control of the seminary ; in Germany, the country where the police exercises severe surveillance over the citizens, the student enjoys complete liberty, both as to his studies and his conduct. Only the gravest moral faults are referable to academical jurisdiction. English friends have frequently asked me, with astonishment, if the necessary consequence of such independence is not the death of all morality. The same question has often been asked me in Germany, in regard to the civil independence of English citizens.

But in both these cases the result is much more favourable than one is disposed to believe. Without discussing here the changes which would be desirable in our organisation, I only wish to mention these differences in order to arrive at this conclusion—if, notwithstanding such independence, the evangelical spirit is developed among our students, as I shall have the pleasure to show you, is there not reason to think that it is produced by real conviction?

Gentlemen, and dear brethren, I do not wish to speak here of our university institutions, nor of the state of our theology in general, and of its relation to religion, nor of our method of education; this will be the task of one of my respected colleagues. My subject, as I have already said, is only the spiritual state of our theological students, of those dear young men amongst whom I have the pleasure of passing the happiest hours of my life, not simply as their tutor, but as their friend, and as the father of a family. I shall, therefore, principally limit myself to the university to which I have the honour to belong. I believe that I am justified in doing so, since the University of Halle is pre-eminently distinguished as the theological university, as much for the number of its students as for the weight of its influence. As to numbers, from its commencement it has doubly and trebly surpassed all the other German universities; and at the present time there are 400 students. The universities of Leipsic, of Berlin, of Erlangen, have only 200 students, that of Gottingen 150, that of Heidelberg 70, and those of Bonn, of Breslau, and of Königsberg, 50. Besides, it has been, at two distinct epochs, at the head of a movement decisive of theology. Founded by the Elector of Brandenburg, towards the end of the seventeenth century, with the avowed intention of opposing to the casuistical and disputatious theology of the then existing Lutheran universities, a nursery of practical theology, it increased under the care of Spener, that man of God, who was His instrument for bringing the minds of men from a cold and dead orthodoxy to a living Christianity. The first theologians of Halle—Francke, Breithaupt, Anton, faithful servants of the Lord, full of warmth and zeal—were the followers of Spener; and since that time a new generation of hearty orthodox preachers have arisen at Halle, and have spread themselves throughout Germany, and in all the countries where German is spoken, even as far as America. But from 1760 the University of Halle became the

centre of a movement of an entirely different kind—that by which a believing theology passed into critical Rationalism. This was under Frederic; and Prussia was the only German State in which it was possible that such an abandonment of doctrine could be admitted into the churches. Until 1830, the tendency known under the name of vulgar Rationalism was dominant in Germany, as well in the universities as among the pastors. Two of the most famous professors of this school—Wegscheider and Gesenius—then belonged to the faculty of Halle. In 1826 I was sent to Halle by the Minister of Worship in Berlin, for the express purpose of endeavouring to dethrone Rationalism. Still young (I was only twenty-six years old), in a very poor state of health, I saw myself suddenly transferred from a circle of dear and venerable colleagues—amongst whom the late Neander occupied the first place—to the midst of a hostile faculty, who had just protested against my nomination. "I came," they said, "to bring dissension into their ranks." Of the 950 students at Halle, brought up in Rationalism, three only received me on my arrival, entertaining Christian convictions; and they did not owe their faith to any professor or pastor, but to a simple labourer. The others, however, were not decided for Rationalism; but, regarding their academical career as a time destined to the enjoyments of youth, they had not occupied themselves with the vital questions of the faith. Some of them felt the want of other nourishment than what had been given them, and received it with gratitude. Up to 1835, the greater number of them remained Rationalists; a very few rallied round me to extend the doctrine of salvation. But the wind began to blow from another quarter. A number, always considerable, of men of science, not only theologians but jurists, naturalists, and poets, uplifted the banner of the Gospel. Faith had awakened in Prussia among the higher classes, especially in our late king and the royal family. What was the origin of this movement? It was, as is generally the case, affliction; it was the sorrow and the humiliation through which God caused Prussia to pass. Germany had seen a unique sight in the history of nations: three sovereigns on the battle-field of Leipsic kneeling side by side to give glory to God! Three monarchs, belonging to different confessions, united by the reverses and judgments sent by God! This was a prelude to our Evangelical Alliance. Perhaps our Alliance will have need to

receive the same baptism from God: are not trials the school where Christians learn to unite, by discerning then what is essential to faith? It was under trials that our king, who possessed a soul of rare candour, opened his heart to the Gospel, and from that moment he did all in his power to spread in his kingdom that faith which had become so dear to himself. Ecclesiastical government became a more serious thing; the doctrines of salvation were no longer despised. The philosophy of Hegel came to the help of the faith. This philosophy has, like Janus, two faces Although fundamentally opposed to Christianity, its terminology is Christian; it spoke, or seemed to speak, with respect of the redemption and mysteries of Christianity, as profound subjects, while Rationalism treated them as superstition. Sincere men believed they would find in this philosophy the key to the mysteries of Christianity. It was certainly useful in bringing Rationalism into discredit and turning men's minds to another side. It is true that a short time after, in 1836, Strauss unveiled the mysteries of iniquity concealed in the doctrines of Hegel; and his school erected a system more dangerous than ancient Rationalism, and which seduced many of our theological students. According to this system there was no God, no personal immortality, and sacred history was nothing but a fable. The majority of young people, led away by these errors, either abandoned theology or expatriated themselves; many perished in our revolution of 1848; and a small number embraced salvation. In 1845, ancient Rationalism, finding itself vanquished, began an alliance with radical philosophy. Then was proclaimed on the roofs what Rationalism had kept concealed. It was then that the Rationalists took the name of *Friends of Light*. This name designated political doctors as well as theologians, who sought to attract the populace by intoxicating them with pride. They wanted a change of government, but their plots were without influence on the students of Halle, although the town of Halle was one of the centres of the popular assemblies of the *Friends of Light*. Ever since the places in this faculty, vacated by the decease of ancient Rationalists, were filled by champions of the faith—among whom I must name above all my colleague and friend Julius Muller—faith has extended its empire more and more among our young people. The year 1848 arrived. It is rarely granted to a professor to see the harvest of the seed he

has sown; but it was just in this year of sorrow and disaster, that it was given to my colleague and to myself to see that our work in the Lord had not been in vain. While in other universities, especially the Roman Catholic, the students were in the first ranks of the insurgents, our students were the defenders of order and law. They were seen in arms, encamped round the houses of professors, menaced by the people, protecting them from violence; and when a revolutionary committee took the place of legitimate authority, our students were the first to refuse it obedience. To this hour my heart beats with joy at the recollection of those days; and what is worthy of remark, and what makes their conduct significant, is, that the contest then raging was not only political, but religious. Whatever may be the case in other countries, it is a positive fact that in Germany the first revolutionaries were men who had denied God and the faith. It may be said, that in Germany a certain political sentiment allied itself with a religious feeling. Therefore we must not be astonished if the restoration of 1849 is regarded as a new phase in the history of religion and the Church. From that time, the German Governments having found their most faithful subjects among the most religious, sought to arrest the Pantheist and Rational movements. They wished men of faith to fill the professor's chair; they sometimes put the interests of science on one side. While at the beginning of this century there was only one university among all in which Evangelical Christianity was professed (it was Tubingen), at the present time there is only one where vulgar Rationalism still sways its sceptre, and that is Giessen. If before the catastrophe of 1848 living faith swayed its sceptre among us, with how much more power does it do so now! With the exception of a few young people who come to us from other countries, it is now an unheard-of thing to find among us a theological student who is a Rationalist. Although a large number of these students are far from possessing a firm and decided faith, there are beginnings which promise a great harvest for the future. The journal of the acts of our university tribunals attest that it is rare that a student in theology is punished for gross immorality. The liberty enjoyed by our young academics, from the time of the Reformation, has given rise to associations in which, for centuries, drinking parties, and grave excesses, have been the order of the day. These associations have, during the last

year, taken quite a different form and character. They have frequently a scientific aim, and the members exercise a moral discipline over each other. There are several which have based their statutes on religion; such is that of Wingolfites, which has for its device the profession of faith of the Apostle Peter: "I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." The Wingolfites have founded at Halle a missionary society among the students, and are rich in liberality towards the poor. In eight different universities, there exist societies of this kind.

I am happy in having been able to present you with a picture so consoling to the Christian heart. There is not a single exaggerated feature in this bright picture. O my dear brethren, French and English, cease to regard our German universities as nurseries of incredulity and impiety, and give thanks and glory to our Lord that He has permitted us to see a new epoch full of promises for the future!

ON THE CONTENDING FORCES OF INFIDELITY AND FAITH IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. F. W. KRUMMACHER, D.D.,

POTSDAM.

(*August 24.—Church of Redemption.*)

Beloved brethren, I offer you the expression of my sympathy, and that of those of my compatriots, to whom a personal living faith is the first thing, and the question of Church and confessions only of secondary importance. They would think themselves much privileged to breathe the pure air of brotherly love, separated from all spirit of sect and parties, which pervades this assembly. The King of Prussia, my august master, has taken a lively interest in the Conferences which are being held here, and charged me to bring him an exact account of all that passes in them. He would feel himself at home in the atmosphere which we breathe. We have also our German Evangelical Diet, the *Kirchentag*. I bless God for it. But its limits are much narrower than those of the Evangelical Alliance; many brethren in Christ are excluded from it. It is also distinguished from the Alliance by being rather a "truce" than a "cordial agreement"—a real peace, reposing on a tacit convention, which opposite dogmatical elements may not disturb. A large number of the keys on this instrument bear the inscription, *Noli me tangere*—(Touch me not). Still, there are hopes that the Kirchentag will tend more and more to become an union based on harmony in the fundamental points of the faith. Will it reach the breadth of the Evangelical Alliance? That is a question. One thing is certain—the living members of our Kirchentag would feel as much joy as I do, in being present at this meeting.

In speaking to you of the religious state of my country, I esteem myself happy that my task is not the same as it would have been twenty or thirty years ago. Then I should have had to lead you to a cemetery; to-day I offer you the perspective of a battle-field. The old enemies, who, for a century, have

ravaged our Church, are still there, it is true; some of them with more terrible power than ever; but they are not alone, and the ground is most energetically disputed with them. The army of Faith advances, with hopes of victory, against the army of Infidelity. Let us take a general view of these two armies. Infidelity presents itself in Germany under seven different forms.

I. The first is *indifference*, a living corpse, which breathes death, the iced lips of which repeat the aphorism, which it calls its moral principle, while it perverts its meaning—"Do good and fear nobody." It spreads its leaden wings over a multitude of deserted churches, and exercises its power of inactivity over an army of idlers, leagued together to arrest the progress of the Gospel. Its recruits are generally from State functionaries.

II. The second is *vulgar Rationalism*. I call that system Rationalism which makes human reason the highest and only source of truth; the principal representatives of this system are Paulus, Wegscheider, Roehr, Gesenius, and Ammon. According to them, Christianity is an exposition of natural religion, mixed with Jewish errors, but estimable on account of its popular form and pure morality; a doctrine well calculated to educate the people; and Jesus Christ is not a divine person, but a providential man, who may be called a divine messenger. It has been said that Rationalism has been overthrown in Germany; that may be true, but still we must make some qualification of this statement. Rationalism has been vanquished in science; science has a great horror of the old Rationalism which invented an ingenious exegesis, by whose aid the miracles of the Bible had nothing miraculous; the Apostles became ordinary historians; and Jesus Christ a mere reformer of Judaism, and a doctor who preached the existence of a God, immortality, and virtue. Scientific Rationalism is conquered and is dead. A vulgar Rationalism, however, has taken its place; or rather, Rationalism, driven from the domain of science, has taken refuge among the uneducated. It fills many common-place heads, both of ministers and schoolmasters. It has been jokingly said amongst us, that Rationalism can never become bankrupt, for it never speculates.

III. Thirdly, when errors are not overthrown by the Gospel, other errors succeed them. One demon is cast out, but another takes his place. A third enemy, a third form of infidelity,

followed Rationalism; the *Gnostic Pantheism*, sprung from the philosophy of Hegel. In this system, a personal God disappears, which in the end Rationalism acknowledges. Here there is no world to come; the idea of a future is a fiction of the human brain. Space alone is immortal; the individual is mortal. There is no distinction between God and the world; between sin and virtue; between the present life and the future; all things are resolved and lost in the abyss of an unity. This system, of which David Strauss is one of the principal representatives, has penetrated into many of our universities, and into several of our schools of learning. It has found its way into some of our pulpits. In a more popular form it has made progress among the masses; and the man who gave utterance to that frightful sentiment, "The last enemy which shall be destroyed is immortality," may rejoice, as he travels on the highways, to hear thousands professing his gospel and making a mock of death. The morale of such men is, "Eat, drink, and be merry!"

IV. The fourth is *Natural Materialism* (*Naturalistische Materialismus*). According to this system there is no spirit; there is nothing but matter. Communism is its offspring. This monster from hell is bound at present with iron chains; but he is not dead. At some future time he will break them, and furnish to anti-Christ, in his day, if not the most intelligent, the most formidable battalions of his army.

V. The Gospel has also a fifth enemy, in the *criticism* of a theological school, of recent formation, the principal supporters of which are at Tubingen. They pretend to make an abstraction of all philosophy, and profess to examine only historical facts. It is a scientific mole, which digs under the foundations of Christianity, in order to overthrow it, by stripping it of everything supernatural. Although this school pretends to have no system, it can be easily shown that they have determined beforehand not to acknowledge anything as belonging to the Apostolical age which is miraculous. The four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles form an anthology, a collection of myths and legends; a work of the second or third century. The Epistles are polemical discussions between Jewish Christians and Pagans. The extravagance of this school will be its destruction. They have dared to attack, with their destructive teeth, the authenticity of the Epistles to the Corinthians. God has ordered this, that their folly might be visible.

VI. *Moral spiritualism* (*Ethische Spiritualismus*) is a sixth form of infidelity, but less injurious than the others. In this there is a kind of faith, but it is not faith in God's Word; an enthusiasm for the person of Christ, whom they consider to be the ideal of humanity; a serious tendency towards holiness, but it is without grace. Prayer is used, but it is a monologue, an elevation of the soul of a person speaking to himself. The authority of Scripture gives place to what is called the conscience of the Church. Jesus Christ is unique among men, but not by a difference of nature. The Holy Spirit is not from above, and is not a person; or rather, there is no Holy Spirit, but the Spirit of the Church. Jesus Christ has not made reconciliation for the sinner with God by the cross, but he has offered to the world his holy personality and his victory over evil. Such are the principles of this school, which we may hesitate to call either friend or enemy, which sometimes takes one side and sometimes the other. It allies itself, however, more readily with Rationalism than with ecclesiastical orthodoxy.

VII. Lastly, there is a *Rationalism*, a reasonable Christianity, which differs according to the persons who profess it. It is the religion of the middle classes. It is also the spiritual Deism of men of letters, an elastic system in which a place is found for every opinion, and it is not without its disciples among ministers.

In presence of this Infidel camp we have Faith's army, composed of men of science, practical divines, and a Christian people. Within the last ten years, theological science has, in a very decided manner, turned towards positive Christianity. To prove that the Evangelical positive faith does not lack its representatives in the highest ranks of German intelligence and science, it will be sufficient to mention the well-known names of Twesten, Nitsch, Frederick Strauss, Hengstenberg, Sartorius, Tholuck, and Julius Müller. Not only do the universities of Prussia count among their professors some of the most faithful defenders of the Gospel, but the same may be said of Rostock, Gottingen, Leipsic, Erlangen, Heidelberg, and Tubingen. I may name a Philippe, a Dorner, a Thomasius, a Hundeshagen, a Beck, and many others like-minded. Every department of science, law, natural history, and even philosophy, has its professors, whose instructions are communicated in a Christian spirit. It can no longer be said that any one system of philosophy is predominant

in Germany. Philosophy has given place, in studies, to history. Our students comprehend that the truth is not to be found in speculative philosophy, but in the Holy Scriptures. Apologetics have made rapid progress among us. Our theological science fears no assailant. Must we regard the revival of faith in the Church as the cause or as the effect of the revival of faith in the domain of science? This is a question yet to be decided; but the revival itself cannot be questioned; and it may be confidently affirmed that two-thirds of our young theologians are inclined to embrace positive Christianity. The inspection lately instituted among the Churches in Prussia ascertained that Jesus Christ is preached in almost every pulpit. There is not at present in Germany a single theological magazine, of any importance, which advocates the cause of Rationalism. The celebrated *Gazette of Darmstadt* has abandoned Rationalism for the Cross. We have several popular publications which are truly evangelical, and the pen of our Christian pastors was never more fruitful. But it is not only by the Press, but by a multitude of other means, that the Truth is making progress in Germany. A missionary spirit reigns among Christians. Their watchword is *Care for souls.* It is impossible to doubt the Spirit's having breathed on the field of death. Faithful preaching is earnestly sought after. There is scarcely a single locality in which there does not exist an association, having for its object either missionary effort or mutual edification. Living souls are being drawn towards, and united with, each other. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that few congregations are sufficiently strong to reduce to silence the gainsayers. Some such may be found in the Wupperthal, in Westphalia, and in Wurtemberg, but scarcely in any other place. Almost everywhere the preaching of the truth is considered a novelty. There is no proportion between the means employed for reviving piety and the results obtained. Faith is found rather among theologians than among the people. What are the obstacles in the way of the desired progress?

They are to be found partly among the people, and partly among their teachers.

The ravages made by Rationalism have left deep traces behind. The sincerity of those who preach the Gospel is called in question. It is not unfrequently suspected that a zeal for the truth is a cloak for a certain political tendency, and covers an

intention to crush Liberalism. These prejudices have been strengthened by some sincere men exaggerating their pastoral authority, and claiming a kind of ecclesiastical omnipotence. Others have also helped by making advances towards Roman Catholicism, and becoming enamoured with Romish ceremonies. It must also be stated, that the "believing theology" is not entirely free from Rationalism. We have Christian ministers who pretend that the Word of God is in the Bible; but that the Bible is not the Word of God. Others omit in their teaching the satisfaction for sin rendered by Christ's death; the imputation to the sinner of the righteousness of Christ; the simplicity of the Cross, and the eternity of punishment. The people see this, and feel that there is no solidity in such a system. The Bible teaches us all these things, they say; but the preacher evades them; therefore the Bible is not his rock; and they no longer respect either the Bible or the preacher. Other ministers, without believing in Him, preach Christ, merely because He is preached before the Court, or because the civil authorities are favourable to the Gospel. They make the Gospel to be a yoke to the people instead of winning souls to it. They throw the true seed at the people as if they were throwing stones at them. Some of our young ministers are mad after reform in the forms of the Church. New hymns, a better liturgy, another ecclesiastical organization, are for them the salvation of the Church. The people laugh at these eccentricities, and are tempted to take their religion to be a monomania.

The greatest obstacle, however, to the progress of the Gospel in Germany is, the theological hatred and opposition of religious parties; especially the contests between the Lutherans and the Reformed. There is a party which would bring back the days of the fatal rending of the two Churches. To hear them you would be led to believe that the Reformed Church is no Church, but only a sect. What, that venerable Church of the Reformation; that Church of the Word; that Church of grace, the guardian of the doctrine of salvation; that Church of confessors, who formed the van of Christ's army; that Church which held up high the standard of faith, whilst her sister slept; that Church which has most clearly discerned the Lord's body and the communion of his members; which, with her positive faith, has always been ready to hold out the hand to every true Christian; that glorious Church, only a sect, a heresy; her

organization derived only from radicalism, from democracy! Her worship the north pole of the Christian Church! Oh! no, no. It is not to be wondered at, that, on hearing such language, that peaceful Church should be irritated, and accuse the Lutheran Church of traditionalism and servility, and of having retained a portion of Popery. This may be regretted, but it cannot be wondered at. The two Churches are formed to unite and to understand each other. Each has her mission. United, they complete and fortify each other. At the sight of these and similar quarrels, the people shake their heads, and sink deeper into Infidelity or indifference. God has, however, thoughts of mercy towards Germany. He has already done us good. Beloved brethren of France, we bring you some useful scientific gifts, some nuggets of gold dug from the mine of knowledge by our Christian thinkers; but give us, oh, give us, in exchange, some of that firmness and of that energy which we acknowledge as the distinctive character of your faith.

CONSIDERATIONS ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, AND A GENERAL VIEW OF THE LAW IN RELATION TO IT IN THE STATES OF NORTH GERMANY.

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August 27, Morning.—Church of Redemption.

In reading the modern constitutions of the German States, and their particular laws, it soon becomes apparent that the lawfulness of religious associations, and their consequences upon the civil and political status of their adherents, although often treated of in general terms and by the declaration of principles, are by that very generality involved in doubt on many points. But it necessarily follows that the spirit which predominates in each particular Government, according as it is favourable or hostile to the principle of religious liberty, exercises great influence in regulating the various relations by which the State connects itself with it; and this irresistible tendency makes itself felt so long as legislation abstains, on this subject, from details which it might be difficult to harmonise with a fundamental constitution expressed in general terms.*

I. INDIVIDUAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

1. *Individual religious liberty* guarantees in all the German States, in the first place, what is called *liberty of conscience.* This technical expression presents a double order of ideas.

First. Every member of the State is free from all constraint as to what concerns his belief; he cannot be forced by menaces of exile, or any other punishment, from embracing such or such form of religion, although in the organisation of all the States,

* Prussia gave the first remarkable example of a legislation less shy of details in the Letters Patent of May 30, 1847, and the law of May 31 of the same year. Unhappily this course has been abandoned, and Prussia has returned to constitutional generalities. It is often forgotten in Germany that a more restricted but exactly defined right is of more real value than the legal acknowledgment of general principles, which are abandoned to the conflicting and variable opinions of the Executive power, and which are also often destitute of any practical results.

as is proved by the institution of the oath, it results from this solemn principle, that no member of the State can absolutely renounce all religion.

Second. *Liberty of conscience*, as it exists in the German States, assures to every member of the State the right of simple domestic worship; that is to say, the right of edifying himself according to his religious convictions, in his own house and in the family circle, provided these pious exercises do not take the character of the worship of an organised religious communion, which would be the case if a clergyman was present at these meetings and exercised his functions.

2. Individual religious liberty, so restrained and enveloped in shadows, leaves a very wide field open to the dominant influence which limits it, and which makes the civil and political rights of every citizen depend on the religious principles he adopts. Sometimes, to this restriction of rights is added the constraint of public authority, that every citizen shall take part in certain religious exercises, to which political law has given the character of civil duties. At a former period, this restrictive influence reigned universally in Germany, and it still obtains in a large number of the States.

But in modern times a propensity has arisen to separate from public Churches called national; pious tendencies, or such as are hostile to the faith, have increasingly attached great importance to liberty of religious convictions, free from all restrictions and civil liabilities; and it has been impossible to maintain since then the ancient principles of unity and exclusion. The suppression of these ancient fundamental principles was one of the most lasting consequences of the changes necessarily produced by the political movements of 1848. In nearly all the German States, the principle was sanctioned by constitutional laws, that difference of religious faith ought not to impose any restriction on civil or political rights; and this principle has been maintained in all the revisions to which the legislative acts of that period have subsequently been submitted. It is found written in the Twelfth Article of the Constitution of Prussia, Jan. 31, 1850, in these terms: "The enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent of religious confession."

It is beyond a doubt, that where it has been proclaimed that civil and religious rights are independent of a man's faith, the State has had for its aim the extension of individual religious

liberty, so that those citizens who have left the Churches recognised by public authority, even without obtaining a special authorisation from the State for any particular form of religious worship, cannot, as regards their civil and political rights, be placed in a position less favourable than their fellow-citizens who belong to legal Churches. But the maintenance of this right is not sufficiently guaranteed by its simple production under the form of a constitutional principle. By this, doubtless, certain restrictions of legal capacity, which resulted formerly from difference of religion—for instance, exclusion from electoral rights and non-admission to public offices—have been completely suppressed. For their suppression, it was enough to give a legal sanction of the contrary principle; but this is not sufficient to sustain the principle itself.

Some points must now be mentioned, in which the absence of a more precise legislation opposes obstacles to the practical efficacy of an acknowledged principle.

1. Baptism of Infants—the Baptists.

In the ancient legislation of all the German States, it was an established principle that it was obligatory on Christian parents to bring their children for baptism soon after their birth. The aim of this regulation was less to protect by secular authority the ecclesiastical dogma, and to restrain, in the interest of this protection, the right of parents in the education of their children, than to watch that the well-being and spiritual progress of the children did not depend on the arbitrary will of their parents. It results from this point of view, that the State had nothing to do with any of its subjects but those who were members of the Established Churches; it was concluded that, when these were forced to baptize their children, they were only restrained from caprices prejudicial to the good of their children, and that there was no encroachment upon that religious liberty which every member of a Church which practises infant baptism has a right to claim. This previous supposition vanished in regard to parents belonging to the sect of Baptists. With them, not having their children baptized is neither an arbitrary decision nor a caprice by which they put themselves in opposition to the requirements of their own religious position; it is, on the contrary, the simple and conscientious result of their faith. The constraint exercised upon them by the State to force them to baptize their children is no longer the

excuse of being a protection against an arbitrary paternal will. On the one side it is a real violence done to an individual to compel him to profess what he does not believe. On the other, it is an infringement of the Divine order of the family, and the violation of the principle which lies at its basis, that authority in the education of children rests entirely in the appreciation of parents responsible before God, and that this authority cannot be limited by the civil power except in cases of external abuse, in which the child is publicly left without protection.

From these considerations, we draw a twofold consequence:

First. That in all cases the constraint exercised by the State against Baptist parents, by the baptism of their children, is an attack upon individual religious liberty, and a mutilation of the principle of paternal authority over children, a principle admitted by the State itself. And

Secondly. There is an evident contradiction between this constraint and the more extended religious liberty which modern constitutions pretend to guarantee.

2. Celebration of Marriages.

In the middle ages, the right of legislation and of jurisdiction in relation to marriages having passed into the hands of the Church, this transfer caused the principle to become dominant in Germany, that marriages contracted with religious solemnities could alone be valid and produce civil effects, and that the competency, even for civil consequences, belonged in disputed marriages to the Church tribunals. Thus, the subjects of the German States could not contract a legal union except with the assistance of the ecclesiastics belonging to the recognised Churches, or to one of them in particular. As a rigorous deduction from this principle, it followed that only the members of the recognised Churches could contract marriage, and that those Christians who separated from the Churches could not live except in a state of concubinage. This fearful state of things would have sooner led to a change in the law of marriage in countries where there was not altogether an absence of Dissenting Christians, if the official ecclesiastics, misunderstanding in part their position with regard to the Church, had not been ready to accomplish also for these Dissenting Christians the ministerial act required by the State for the civil validity of marriage. But on the one hand, the clergy of the Evangelical

National Church raised and conceived doubts as to the ecclesiastical fitness of the minister of Dissenters to celebrate such marriages; and on the other, the State saw that it could neither compel the clergy to celebrate the marriages of Dissenters, nor leave the celebration of the marriages of one part of its subjects to the good pleasure of the clergy. The more these diverse opinions took possession of the minds of men, the more did the general conviction grow that a change in the law of marriage was inevitable. Every one saw clearly that they could not restrain the civil capacity of the Dissenters in a severer, more dangerous, or more immoral manner than by forbidding them, or by rendering burdensome to them, the ability to contract a valid marriage, on the ground of their separation.

However, the perfection of legislation on a point of such high importance has not yet, in the German States, made the desired progress. In several of these States, Dissenters are still forced to apply to the Established Church for permission to contract a valid marriage, though in case of refusal, perhaps, there is not a Government which would think itself authorised to overcome this refusal by vigorous measures.*

II. COLLECTIVE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY (RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS OR COMMUNIONS).

According to the principles in force towards the middle of the present century, Christians separating from the Church or public Churches of the country, and united in a particular religious conviction, did not possess the right of producing and developing the foundation and character of their belief under the form of a separate religious association. Thus, they did not enjoy collective religious liberty; they needed the authorisation of the State to form themselves into a body. There are, indeed, many constitutional laws in German countries which seem to have been made since the political movements of 1830, granting either expressly or implicitly the right of forming meetings or religious associations. In fact, these laws authorise Dissenters *the exercise of their religion;* and this technical expression conveys the idea of the right of openly practising their belief among meetings of the faithful. But another interpretation is put upon them; it was admitted as a rule that these new laws

* This, however, has recently been done by the Government in Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, as is known to the writer of this note.—EDITOR.

ought to be approached by the ancient principles then universally recognised, and which were a legacy of the Germanic empire. By thus bringing them together, it was concluded that the expression "*exercise of religion*" did not include the right of meeting and association, and that the creation of new religious communions could only take place by the authorisation of public authority, which was alone invested with the right of re-formation. (See Richter, "The State and German Catholics, 1846.") Thus, the principle is definitively ruled, that the State subjects the erection and formation of new religious communions to a preventive censure, and that consequently, if the State gave an unfavourable judgment to such communions, the adherents of that belief could only have private liberty of conscience, and the edification of their family in their own houses.

In opposition to this principle, and before the revolution of 1848, a salutary movement of public opinion had already shown itself, which was not favoured in its progress by the storms of that period. It was not only in the Frankfort Parliament, but also in a great number of the German States that the triumphant programme of a numerous party was propagated. It did not ask simply that the formation of new religious communities should be withdrawn from the censure of the State, or, to speak more justly, that the State should be relieved from the burden of this odious and inconvenient office of censor—in a word, that the liberty of the Dissenting sects or communions should be decreed—it also required that there should be an end put to the position of the ancient Churches, and to their preponderance as religious communities, incorporated with the constitution of the State. Such was the sense, or at least appeared to be the sense, of the *Declaration of Fundamental Rights*. (Art. 5, sec. 17.) "No religious association or community can obtain from the State any privileges in respect of the other religious associations."

Such was the disposition proposed by a numerous party in the Parliament, and in several other German States. If it had been able to pass without opposition, the ancient Churches would have descended to the rank of private associations.

But such an enterprise will not succeed in the actual state of Germany under a religious aspect. Indeed, the base of the legal and public edifice, either of the Roman Catholic Church or of the Evangelical Church, has not yet been shaken; this

base rests on this double fact—that these two Churches include the immense majority of the nation, and that their beliefs and customs have formed the two centres of the religious life of Germany.

Although the absolute equality between all religious communities, proposed in 1848, has not been adopted, and although the Churches attached to the constitution of the German States have preserved their own position, the principle is, however, pretty generally received, that those who separate themselves from the communion of a public Church have the right to re-unite in a religious association, without the special authority of the Government. But if this principle has been maintained in the revision of the greater part of the constitutions, which have lately been made, it does not exist without several exceptions.

Two categories may be established on this subject for the different States of Germany.

In the first category must be placed the States where the principle of collective religious liberty reigns.

To this class belong principally Prussia, Hanover, the Duchy of Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe Altenburg, Coburg-Gotha, and the principality of Waldeck.

Everywhere where this right of meeting in religious associations prevails, religious societies established on the basis of this right exist, according to the general regulations of the Legislature respecting societies and meetings, and consequently, they are subject to the restrictions imposed by the Legislature.

It is to be regretted that, in the whole of this legislation, there is a certain want of precision in the definition of unlawful associations and those meetings which may be dissolved by the police. It is difficult, indeed, to attach to these police regulations that precision without which, it must be confessed, the right of assembling, guaranteed by law, will always be subject to restrictions imposed by a suspicious and hostile administration. The loyal use of this right of assembling by the subjects of each State will be the only efficacious counterpoise to arbitrary authority.

In the second category are found the Northern German States, where no authorisation of religious meetings and associations has been granted by the laws as a principle, and where the concession of this right has not been maintained. There

this concession has been abolished by the federal abrogation of *the fundamental rights* recognised and proclaimed in the Frankfort Parliament, or even has been positively withdrawn from the revised constitutions.

To this second category of States belong the kingdom of Saxony, Electoral Hesse, Saxe Weimar, Meiningen, Hildburg, Hausen, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lauenburg, Lippe-Detmold, and Schaumburg-Lippe.

PROTESTANTISM IN HUNGARY AND OTHER AUSTRIAN STATES.

September 1.—*Taitbout Chapel.*

HUNGARY.

[The following paper is the work of a man worthy of the greatest confidence, but whose name, for prudential reasons, cannot be disclosed.]

In submitting the following report, I cannot but entertain the fear that the desire to be exact and truthful, may have constrained me to pronounce a judgment too severe, on Churches which are dear to me on more than one account. I pray the Lord that the facts, often afflicting, which I have to lay before you, may not diminish your sympathy, but may dispose you to that brotherly love which, far from repelling the weak, supports and assists them, according to the exhortation of the Apostle, to bear one another's burdens.

The first of the Austrian States claiming our attention, because the Gospel has been spread there, and has established itself with more independence than elsewhere, is Hungary.

CHURCH OF THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

The Reformation was gladly welcomed in this country, both by the grandees and the people. A decree to extirpate Lutheranism, which the Roman Catholic clergy obliged the Diet to issue, was rendered nugatory by the sanguinary defeat of Mohacs, on the 29th August, 1526. The Dowager Queen Mary attended Melancthon's preaching in 1530. The Hungarian Bishops, Dudith and Draskoriez, openly manifested at Trent their disapproval of the conduct of the Council. Yet Rodolph II., when introducing the Jesuits into the country, returned to violent measures; and from that moment, religious conflicts have been mingled with those political struggles in which Hungary

has risen six times against Austria, and the effect of which has been to secure to Hungary a larger measure of liberty than is possessed by her neighbours. To this reason it must be ascribed, that the first two fundamental bases of Protestant Rights in Hungary, are Treaties of Peace—that of Vienna, June 23rd, 1606, and that of Lintz, December 16th, 1645. The third is the Ordinance of Leopold II., containing seventeen articles, dated January 18th, 1791, drawn up entirely under the influence of the liberal views of Joseph II. (Edict of Toleration, 1781), whose reign happily put an end to those general persecutions which history must record to the shame of his predecessors.

The Lutherans of Hungary have made many attempts to settle their ecclesiastical constitution. The last was made in 1845; one of the committees named by the General Assembly proposed a project reproducing, with sufficient accuracy, the forms which general usage had sanctioned. It is a constitution presbyterial and synodal. In each parish a council of elders, over which the pastor presides, attends to the most pressing matters and prepares the propositions to be laid before the parochial meeting. This latter, also presided over by the pastor, or by a layman elected to the office, is composed of all the inhabitants who have obtained their majority and contribute towards the expenses of worship; it deliberates on the propositions made by the Council of Elders; on the election of the pastors and schoolmasters, made by the primary assemblies; on the choice of delegates to attend the superior assemblies; the division of the expenses of worship, and the examination of the accounts. The pastor elect is instituted by right of his election, and without any further examination, on the call being signed by the dean of the district and the members of the Council of Elders. The dean, assisted by a lay inspector—both elected for a term of six years by the parishes—convokes the district meetings, which are also composed of all the pastors and double the number of laymen, with an executive committee of six members. There is also a consistory or ecclesiastical tribunal, in which all the cases are determined connected with the parishes, pastors, schoolmasters, and schools. Its members are sworn and elected by the district for each new cause that has to be tried. The deans and lay inspectors, aided by a few other members, form the Provincial Assembly, over which a superintendent, named for life, presides, aided by a lay inspector. Each of these assemblies

has its executive committee and its consistory, as a Court of Appeal. Lastly, there is the General Synod, composed of delegates of the four provinces, with an executive committee and general consistory, presided over by a general lay inspector, but whom the Government has never officially recognised. The resolutions of this assembly, as well as those of the provinces must be seen and approved by the Emperor, who also exercises, in concert with the Diet, a legislative right in whatever concerns the relations of one confession to another.

The administrative division of this Church is as follows :—

	Deans.	Parishes.	Souls.
Superintendence of the Mountains	9	179	328,330
„ Theiss	18	127	164,799
„ the Higher Danube ...	8	90	175,194
„ the Lower Danube ...	12	149	192,820

In respect to nationalities the above parishes may be thus classed :—121 Magyar ; 85 German ; 240 Slavonic (of which 3 are Wendish ; 99 Mixed). All this was annulled at Pest on the 10th of February, 1850, by a decree of General Haynau, who declared that he would put an end to the sad condition into which, as he said, the Protestant Church, of which he was a member, had fallen. Under the pretext that the superior functionaries of this Church had taken advantage of their position to instigate the people to rise against the Government, and with the ostensible object of drawing it into a more intimate union with the State, he abolished the functions of the Inspector-General, of Inspectors of Provinces, and also those of the Curator in the Helvetic Confession. He removed the superintendents, and replaced them by three provisional administrators, richly paid by the State, and who were responsible to the military commandants of the provinces. The commissioners of the latter were to be present at the meetings of the Provincial Assembly and to deliberate on the expenditure of the funds belonging to the Churches and to the schools. He also promised a modification of the administrative circumscriptions.

This act produced a silent terror throughout the country, which, for the moment, was kept under by political events. He robbed the Church of her self-government in the face of a constitution which guaranteed full religious liberty. Under the pretence of a closer union of Church and State, he might have brought back the persecutions of former times, and that at a

moment when, thanks to a favourable ordinance dated 30th of January, 1849, and the consciousness that we were not more culpable towards the State than the Roman Catholic Church, which had no such punishment to submit to, we flattered ourselves with very different hopes. In fact, the injurious stigma of *non-Catholic* had been withdrawn throughout the whole empire; we were liberated from the obligation to pay certain Roman Catholic priests and sacristans for offices which they did not fulfil; pastors had permission to keep legal parish registers and to give certificates from them; Protestants were released from the necessity of having their banns published by the Roman Catholic priest; and, lastly, the right of changing from one confession to another was allowed on simply twice making a declaration before witnesses, duly certified, to the ecclesiastic.

Thanks be to God, the fears referred to above proved vain. The Reformed Churches remained passive, preferring not to assemble their synod rather than accept the conditions which were prescribed to them. Since 1851, they have petitioned the Emperor, as the Lutherans have also, to re-establish their self-government—no doubt with little chance of success, when it is considered that independent Hungary is become a province of the empire, and that the Government, to flatter the priests, continues to repress our Church, especially in the question of mixed marriages, in expectation of a Concordat. Nevertheless, the reigning Emperor has pronounced himself in favour of the equality, in point of rights, of the three Christian Churches. He has conceded many things to the petitions of Protestants, and generously endowed some Churches (Nana in Hungary, Athersee in the Regency of Salzburg). Above all, since the expiration of martial law, he has abolished the edict issued by General Haynau, by expressly declaring that the definitive constitution of the Protestant Church in Hungary shall be based on § 4, article 17, of the Edict of 1791. This provisional ordinance, dated July 3, 1854, relating to Hungary, the *wojewodie* of Servia, and the military district of Temesch, gave us to foresee that the functions of the General and Provincial Inspector would not be re-established, and it confirmed the administrators appointed by Haynau; it declared all the meetings of the Presbyterial councils and district assemblies void, if held in the absence of an Imperial commissioner, charged with the duty of seeing that no

discussion on political matters is introduced; it gives the presidence to the pastor alone; and prescribes that every newly-elected minister and schoolmaster shall, on taking office, prove his political innocence before the civil governor. Urgent petitions have been presented against this system of surveillance, and although in general no complaint can be made against the conduct of the Government agents, great impatience is manifested to get out of this provisional state. In the meantime, the Government, agreeably with its promise to listen to the representations of the two Protestant confessions, confided to a certain number of delegates, chosen by itself and assembled at Vienna on the 17th of May, 1855, the task of drawing up a project of law. The majority of them being in favour of a consistorial constitution, the Government seems to have taken its own course in relation to this matter, admitting the petitions of those who desire consistories, who call themselves *evangelicals*, and of their opponents, who style themselves simply *protestants*, and claim a Presbyterian Constitution, pleading the ordinance of July 17, 1854.

However, if the present Government is benevolently disposed towards us, it must not be forgotten that there are a number of old laws still in force, which prevent the equality of Churches recognised by the Emperor; and that the Roman Catholic clergy, through their social position, their influence with public functionaries, and their wealth, have frequent opportunities of braving the law with impunity in their hatred of us. They have not forgotten the tradition of vexations; the accuser dismissed; the sentence not executed when in favour of the Protestant, and every disagreeable law treated with cold contempt. (See *The Notices* of the venerable Berzwiczy.) Among vexatious laws may be mentioned that which forbids the children of mixed marriages to declare themselves Protestants before they attain their thirteenth birth-day; and the children of parents, who become Protestants, to follow their example when above five years of age. This law, enforced most rigorously, is the more oppressive as it does not allow a reciprocity. Another law enjoins on Protestants in mixed populations to abstain from all work during Roman Catholic *fêtes*. Without referring to the absolute prohibition of all controversy on religion by the press, every kind of publication by a Protestant must be submitted to a Roman Catholic censor. I could name important documents

which have been intercepted and impudently falsified, whilst every attempt at propagandism on our part has been punished. The active surveillance of the bishops hinders all chance of intimacy, even merely social relations, between the priests and ourselves. It must, therefore, be said that, notwithstanding the new laws, the Romish Church still domineers, and the scorn which is reciprocally manifested by the different confessions proves how little the principle of universal religious liberty is practically admitted. Believing Christians among us may desire it for the purpose of spreading the light of the Gospel; enlightened statesmen, as a means of pacification; but the Hungarian people are incapable of understanding the principle. If there were different sects among us, all the confessions would agree to refuse them any liberty. The present Minister of Worship receives favourably all complaints of the infraction of constitutional liberty, provided they are founded on the letter of our confessions. Foreign influence—such as the representations made successfully in former times by England, Holland, Prussia, &c., would now be unfavourable to our interests, if we may judge from the impression produced by the violent articles of M. Kuntze's Journal.

Such is the position of our Church, now that the majority of her members are expecting her deliverance by political and administrative arrangements yet to be made, and controversy, which is forbidden against Romanists, keeps silence in the press, and is only heard in the pulpit and in private meetings. The Lord alone can tell what would take place, if through repentance and the renewing of the heart by faith, this people were regenerated and made true servants of Christ.

Let us consider another point; the condition of the body of pastors. Since the Romish Priests have been obliged to study more solidly in excellent schools, and to pass a severe examination before they can be appointed to place, it has become more difficult for our ministers to resist them. The State asks for nothing of this kind from them, and, unfortunately, neither does the Church. The theological examinations are very easy, and no importance is attached to them. This is the best way of drawing those into the office who are the least apt for it — the sons of old ministers, inheriting the prejudices of their fathers, or the sons of peasants, whose only object is to secure a comfortable position, which requires nothing more than a vote of

their parish. Is it not to be feared, that in a short time the relative position of the two churches will be reversed ?

On leaving the college or gymnasium, the future theological student, without any previous examination, goes for two or three years to one of the Protestant Lyceums (Schools of Theology and Law), of Œdenburg, of Kecskemet, of Kismazk, of Schemnitz, of Presburg, or of Eperies. He attends a course of lectures on different theological subjects, given rather superficially by a body of professors, comparatively speaking, of little celebrity. The student is examined monthly. An examination, called *candidaticum*, made at a meeting of the provincial synod before the administrator, at which some ministers and professors are present, permits him to go to Vienna or to a German University. On his return he can pass his examination as a candidate, and immediately after enter upon his office. Notwithstanding the care bestowed by the Government on the school at Vienna, Rationalism reigns there supreme, and it is not the school to form a generation of ministers, who, like our fathers, will be ready to shed their blood for the truth. The German universities, notwithstanding their many scholarships, are little resorted to, on account of the difficulty of obtaining passports *ad hoc*. A petition must, in the first place, be addressed to the local police, exactly indicating the university chosen, and the nature of the studies to be pursued, and accompanied by certificates of good conduct and political morality, and also giving information concerning the student's family. From thence it is sent to the Military Commandant of the district, who can easily find a pretext for refusing his permission, although young theologians of good repute are exempted from military service. It is at last sent to the office of the Governor, and thence to the Minister of Worship, from whom it is frequently four months before an answer is received.

I must, however, mention that by the efforts of the Rev. W. Legrand, of Basle, the Government permits two students to study regularly in that city, and to profit by two scholarships founded there in favour of Hungary.

When the student returns from the University he passes the candidate examination, consisting of oral answers and of a sermon composed at his pleasure. After a year, if he has obtained no pastoral charge, he is subjected to a *colloquium*, and from that time furnished with a diploma in the Magyar language.

He is no longer under official oversight, but is free to engage himself as tutor in a family or school, or as curate to a minister; but the ordination received on this occasion gives him no right to be called to a place in preference to others. If he has not been previously ordained, when called to a charge, he presents himself for this purpose before one of the superintendents, and promises "to preach the Word in its purity, and to live conformably to it." The ancient custom of making the candidate promise to maintain the five symbolical books of the Confession of Augsburg (the formula of concord was not received in Hungary) has altogether disappeared, although the State only recognises our Church as being founded on this basis.

The discharge of the pastoral functions furnishes us with a mournful picture. Sermons are, in general, negligently composed; no regularity obtains in the order of worship. Nothing is fixed by the Church concerning liturgies, hymns, or religious acts. Sometimes it is the old Lutheran liturgy, at others that of the pure Rationalism of Glaz, or that of the opposite shade of Wimmer, or the new liturgy of Wurtemberg; and in some places the old manuscript liturgies of the times of persecutions, the energetic faith of which is still breathed in their expressions. The disorder is still greater concerning hymns; the flattest of the Rationalistic platitudes being mixed, without the least sense of incongruity, with the most precious of our hymns. The singing and the accompaniment are often so neglected as to make it a matter of astonishment how persons who have visited other countries can allow such a state of things without feeling ashamed, and energetically striving to introduce a reform. As to the cure of souls it is scarcely known. Need we be astonished that those who assert that the present theology of Germany has gone astray and is in a false road, should despise the old and excellent works, true family treasures, of J. Arndt, Scriver, Moller, Müller, Scheitberger, Brastberger, and Stark? The small catechism of Luther is employed in schools, and for the instruction of catechising, but without any control as to its being regularly used, or as to the choice of auxiliary books. Obliged as we are to submit to the humiliating formality of presenting our books for the approbation of a Roman Catholic administration, we have had to suffer the disgrace of seeing the insipid manual of Simon interdicted in our schools, as being in opposition to the terms of our confession of faith. The administration has rendered us a

second service in fixing the age of confirmation for boys at fourteen years, and for girls at thirteen, whereas, most unreasonably, they were formerly admitted at ten or twelve. It has also ordered that the youth from fourteen to sixteen years old shall frequent an adult class held on Sunday evenings after service. The State, more than the Church, maintains these rules, and the sanctification of the Sabbath, of which there are many infractions by markets, and in Popish towns more through noisy amusements than by actual business. The rich, for the most part Roman Catholics, whilst giving themselves up to pleasure, still retain the habit of attending worship; but this is not the case with the middle classes. Our ecclesiastical authorities have been quite indifferent to the subject, with the exception of a fruitless attempt made by them, in 1849, to oppose the transaction of business during the hours of public worship, and there are no private associations to take the matter in hand. Yet where the Gospel is preached in its purity, and where religious wants are supplied, a taste for public and family worship, and for the sanctification of the Sabbath, gains ground. The Protestant peasant, in general, loves and esteems pious customs. During the Advent and Lent a daily morning service is held almost everywhere, and an evening adult class for catechism on Sundays.

Visits to the churches were regularly made before 1849 by the Superintendent. Since they have been replaced by the administrators, the visits have been neglected, the administrators feeling, probably, that their authority was not sufficiently established in the minds of the parishioners. Instead of solemnly installing newly-elected pastors, they content themselves with merely affixing their signature to the call which is sent to them. This cold abstention on every occasion, in which they ought to act and show themselves as true pastors—(we, however, except Stromsky, Szeberingi, Joseffyi)—this marked negligence of the interests of our Churches, our pastors, and schoolmasters, appears to us to have its source, if not in religious indifference, at least in the dependent position of these functionaries.

The salaries of the pastors vary in general from two hundred to seven hundred Venetian florins per year,* a sum entirely insufficient for the support of a family, without further contributions, which are made in kind, such as wood, corn, wine, &c., &c.

* [£20 to £70.—Ed.]

The tithe throughout the whole country is secured to the landlords. In ten parishes only have the pastors part of the tithes paid by Roman Catholics. But nothing is more frequent than the voluntary gifts of the people; the natural consequences of the constant relations and common action which the constitution imposes upon the pastors and the Churches. This taking part in the affairs of the parish explains the attachment of the rural population to the Constitution. A pastor who gains the confidence of his Church acquires considerable influence; while the others, the Rationalists, for example, are opposed by an invincible but always respectful opposition. It may be said that the Constitution elevates the authority and social position of the pastor, unless he exchanges his independence for a supplement to his salary from the territorial lord. The parish does not provide for the deceased pastor's widow and orphans, who are obliged to apply for support to a pension fund, which the pastors and Churches maintain. In the towns, the position of ministers is rendered still more difficult by the presence of a hostile clergy, ever ready to denounce them to the Government on the slightest occasion; and who spare them no vexation when an opportunity offers, such as raising obstacles to their benediction of mixed marriages, or of conversions in the hospitals of Protestants at the point of death.

In the face of these aggressions, the Hungarian Church, we deeply regret to say, considering her historical rights, her constitution, and her relative liberties, maintains an attitude little worthy of herself. It would be very different were life in God by faith to penetrate the Church! The pastors should be the instruments of begetting this life; and I am compelled to ask, where among them can be found that threefold quality which the old proverb demands of the theologian—prayer, action, and meditation. I may be allowed to take a general view, at least, of the last. Well, then, nothing is more rare than this meditation, this voluntary continuation of study, scientific correspondence or meetings, or even of meetings simply practical. The first cause may be found in the small effort formerly necessary, on the part of our pastors, to appear superior to a very ignorant clergy. To this motive to idleness must be added another, in the miserable condition of our schools before the project of organization, and the excessive facility with which examinations were passed, which stifled in its germ every scientific aspiration.

Add to these causes the restrictive laws on the press, which oblige Protestants to adopt the most minute precautions in their use of it, as well as in their foreign relations. For every minister of any celebrity, and whose activity is displeasing to the priests, is certain to have his correspondence opened and employed to his detriment. Theological books, on entering the country, are subjected to a severe censorship; all works on contemporary ecclesiastical history, having the least anti-Catholic tendency, are strictly prohibited; detached pages of religious publications have been confiscated, and an order for Bibles to any extent excites suspicion. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the scientific and literary progress of other countries exercises no influence on Hungary. Lastly, all meetings of Protestants are assiduously watched by the higher clergy, who, by their relations with the nobility, the public functionaries, and the Court itself, are able, with the greatest facility, to make the least step we take appear as an act of proselytism or a political crime. Thus a worthy minister of Ofen was forbidden to continue his inoffensive Bible lessons, and a Reading Society in the district of Zips, formed for the perusal of scholastic and theological books, was dissolved on an order to show its rules. It is evident that, under such repressive influences, nothing can be undertaken, and that the taste for meetings and scientific occupations must be lost among our pastors. Certainly, the enemies of Protestantism must congratulate themselves on the sterile nullity to which our pastors have resigned themselves at the present time.

Seeing every door closed to scientific studies, Protestants have directed their attention to a freer field—that of national and ecclesiastical law. Distinct parties represent different opinions on the subject of the relations of our Church with the State, and with the Roman Catholic Church, and the language which should be, by preference, used in the gymnasia and academies. In such discussions spiritual benefit is easily lost sight of, which alone gives them any value. Do we not bring ourselves down to a level with the Roman Catholic clergy, when we discuss exterior forms alone? Did not David act wisely, in disdaining the armour of Saul, which was like Goliah's, and in using that with which the name of the living God clothed him? There is among us little difference of view as to the fundamentals of religious conviction, as is evident from the general opinion that

the German universities are not sufficiently practical, and that they treat of questions of little utility. The few true Christians who strive to beget a deeper faith and to penetrate their hearts with the true Christian life, hold themselves in an isolated and quiet state. Some content themselves by retaining their fidelity to the confessions, holding the spiritualistic idea that the truth will at last triumph of itself and without help from us. Can peace, on such conditions, be called peace? If it is good to be occupied with the exterior forms of the Church, ought we to neglect its essence?

It will be seen, from what has been stated, that we are destitute of a Protestant literature. No work of importance has yet been published, if we except the translation, in Magyar, of "Winer's Biblical Dictionary."

I may also mention a few collections of sermons in Magyar; those, for instance, of the worthy Dr. Szekacs, of Pesth, who, with his colleague of the Reformed Church, Tœrœck, published, from 1842 to 1848—notwithstanding the severe pressure of the censorship and virulent attacks of the Popish press—a Protestant journal of the Churches and schools (*Protestans Egyhazy és iskolai lap*). This journal, with a shade of supernaturalism in its character, rendered real service to the Church by bringing to light many sores with which the members of the Reformed Church especially were not sufficiently acquainted. It kept in view one special object—that of obtaining the assembly of a national synod and the fusion of the two Protestant confessions of the country. This latter project meets with no sympathy in the public mind. Separated anciently, and not without bitterness, on the subject of the Lord's Supper, the two confessions have gathered their members from different nationalities; and at present the remembrance of their fathers and respect for their memory, who sealed their faith with their blood, would prevent their making any concessions on this point. Both have borne the cross of Christ with equal fidelity, and in the most fraternal union, against the common enemy. And it must also be stated that the same brotherly love still exists; for the Lutheran Church does not feel any pain at seeing the Reformed Church receive a richer dotation than she does; nor does the Reformed Church look with jealousy on the marked preference which proselytes accord to her Lutheran sister.

A weekly journal for edification, the *Evangelical Christian*,

published at Vienna in 1848, by the Rev. A. Bauhofer, lived but a short time. A German monthly magazine, *Protestant Annals*, is published at Pest by Hornyansky, which dates from 1854. It treats more especially the question of Consistories. An anonymous history of the Protestant Church of Hungary was obliged, in order to its appearance, in 1854, to seek refuge at Berlin. Although filled with inaccuracies and repetitions, it is calculated to excite in other countries a sympathy for our Church, which is as rich in martyrs as is the Church of France. May we see, whilst yet there is time, a history complete, critical, clear, and animated with the Spirit of God! May some of those good old books which our fathers read, and which disappeared one after another, be soon reprinted—such, for instance, as the Latin tract, "The Grace of Christ," recently found, after three centuries.

We have still to characterise the members who form our Churches. Whoever has had the opportunity of observing the different parts of our country must have been convinced of the marked inferiority of the Roman Catholics, both in a religious and moral point of view, as well as that of general culture. Roman Catholic parents are frequently heard complaining of the inefficiency of the instruction given in the schools. This circumstance, and the uneasiness inspired by the domineering spirit of the clergy, have alienated a great number of reflecting Romanists, especially amongst the lower nobility. In the agitated meetings of the Diet, which preceded the revolution, eloquent defenders of our Church were found in these ranks, whether as relating to the question of mixed marriages (some of 1827), or in support of Protestant appeals against numerous acts of injustice. (The higher nobility show a different spirit, dreading the enmity of the clergy at Court.) That which prevents them from distinctly joining us is, that our schools are forbidden to receive Romish children, less as the consequence of family and political considerations than of ignorance of the Word of God, which their Church will not remove, and ours, forced to silence, cannot. Some, unconscious of spiritual need, are kept back by the poor exterior of our Church.

With the majority of congregations, as with the pastors, national and social interests take precedence of religious convictions. However, thank God, a small number of believing friends of the truth may still be found in each parish. Moreover, I

consider it an encouraging symptom that neither abuse nor annoyance of every kind has been able to stifle the strong feeling of a common cause amongst Protestants. This feeling, and the vivid recollection of the sufferings of their fathers, make the masses cling tenaciously to their Churches and schools, and excite a keen interest in the discussions which refer to them. These sentiments, judiciously brought into exercise, might do much good. I must say another word respecting the nobles and jurisconsults of our Church. Though the nobility have lost much by the annexation of Hungary to Austria, and the emancipation of the peasants from the *robott*, they yet possess great influence beyond the actual sphere of Government. They take, as do the magistrates, an active part in the parish and district synodal meetings, and (though in a worldly spirit) make great sacrifices for the Church. The nobles, as presidents of these assemblies, have, either from ambition or a better motive, successfully defended the interests of the Church. It is, therefore, to be regretted that Government is removing them from this too influential position.

There is, alas, in Hungary, no possibility of free action in the propagation of the Gospel by societies, colportage, &c. From 1830 to 1848 we had the great privilege of circulating copies of the Word of God in many languages. Pastor Wimmer, of Oberschütz, began by sending for some from Germany. When this was forbidden, he obtained assistance from England, and printed Bibles in all our national dialects, which were profusely distributed. The Scotch missionaries, Smith and Wienkel [Wingate?] had another depôt at Ofen, and the agent, Millard, a third at Vienna. These last were expelled after the retirement of Lord Palmerston, in 1853. Shortly before Easter, 1854, a quantity of Bibles, printed either by the British Society, or the German bookseller, were seized at the house of Pastor A. C. Bauhofer, at Ofen. They were torn in strips and reduced to a paste, which being valued at twenty-five kreutzer (one shilling), the pastor was compelled to give a receipt for that amount. As at present Bibles are not printed in Austria, and must be obtained through a bookseller (which is not actually forbidden), the price asked is very high. A Bible Society, with private capital, seeking to facilitate the sale of Bibles in the interior, would certainly be permitted by Government, but money and Christian energy are wanting. Tracts published by foreign religious societies are

obtained through the booksellers without difficulty. It would be a great boon to republish, in a more accessible form, the *Praxis Evangeliorum* of Mart Moller (Nuremb. 1756) which is so popular in Germany. Collections for missions and for persecuted co-religionists, in imitation of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, are made in various places. Official collections for special purposes are made reciprocally at the different churches of the two Confessions, at the instigation of the deans, and with the consent of the civic authorities. One locality, with a population of three thousand souls, contributed two hundred florins C.M.; what abundant means, then, might be obtained from the 2,216,558 Protestants of Hungary, if the pastors set themselves seriously to work, and did not yield to the fear of the Romish clergy.

The pretext brought forward for the dismissal of the Superintendents makes it needful to say a word as to the position assumed by the different Churches regarding Kossuth. As a professing Protestant, he would probably have placed all the Churches on a footing of equality, but the tone of his administration was so little Christian, so truly revolutionary, that it is doubtful if his accession to power would have been any benefit to us. Many of his own party acknowledge this now. The clergy of the three Churches, from a feeling of nationality, declared for him in equal numbers, but it is the Protestant Church alone, and especially that of the Confession of Augsburg, which now suffers for it, in the loss of her constitution and liberties.

THE REFORMED, OR CHURCH OF THE HELVETIC CONFESSION.

The Reformed Churches, founded in 1564, were composed, not of converted Romanists, but of dissident Lutherans. They were so successful in spreading the Reformation, that in 1580 there were in Hungary only three Romish magnates, and in 1600 each of the two Churches numbered nine hundred parishes.

The present state of the Reformed Church is as follows:

	Superintendents.	Deans.	Parishes.	Souls.
Superintendence beyond the Theiss ...	1	13	551	751,312
„ within	1	7	355	241,966
„ beyond the Danube ...	1	8	238	287,545
„ within	1	9	279	211,278
	4	37	1423	1,492,101

They have never had an Inspector General; the other inspectors are called Curators. The parishes are almost exclusively Magyar, only six of them being German, and fourteen Slavonic. The Reformed have never established a strictly Presbyterial system, perhaps in consequence of their former union with Lutherans, and have long had Consistories, the members of which are elected for life. The parishes, from the first, claimed the exclusive right of electing and deposing pastors. This right still exists beyond the Theiss, but I am not aware that it has been used of late. The confession on which this Church is based, is the Heidelberg Catechism. Another confession, strictly Hungarian, and known by the name of *Confessio Csengerina*, is also highly esteemed as a monument of the establishment of the Church in 1558. The intercourse with the Lutherans is friendly, and they mutually support one another, though they are far from actual union. The steps taken by the Lutheran Inspector General, Count Charles Zay, and by the Journal *Egehazy és iskolai lap*, as also the deliberations of the Conference of Superintendents at Vienna, in 1850, met with no sympathy either on one side or the other. This is not surprising, for there is no country where these sister Churches have less spiritual relationship than in Hungary. Based originally on the deep consciousness of theological differences, the estrangement has been stereotyped, so to speak, by the legal recognition of three Christian churches, and the powers of self-government given to each. Even in the present day, when the inroads of Rationalism have effaced the most striking points of difference, the schism remains the same, and the efforts of the German paper *Protestant Annals of Hornyańsky*, since 1854, to bring about a union, have altogether failed. Considering these circumstances, and the little intercourse of Hungary with other nations, it appears evident to us that the plan of the Evangelical Alliance will meet with little acceptance in this country, unless indeed with those who, under the influence of infidelity, would hope to make the union a means of effacing all distinct confessions of faith.

As to material things, the Reformed Church is in an excellent position. Unlike the Lutherans, her rich endowments make the re-organisation of schools easy. Four schools of theology and law belong to this Church at Debreczin, Saros-Patak, Papa, and Marmaros-Szigeth. But here the use of the Magyar tongue is a fresh barrier to foreign students. The scholarships founded

for Hungarians remain unemployed, or, as at Leyden, are diverted to another use. Those at Utrecht are placed at the disposal of the Gustavus Adolphus Society. It has just been decided, with the approbation of the Minister of Worship, that the sums collected nine years ago for the purpose of establishing a National Reformed University at Pesth, shall be devoted to founding a school of theology, which will also receive the funds of the former gymnasium of Kecskemet.

LUTHERAN AND REFORMED SCHOOLS.

The Reformation here, as elsewhere, gave a strong impulse to education. Distinguished pastors and professors were procured from afar; such as Amos Comenius, who was placed at Saros-Patak; Kircher, from Tubingen, and Ursinus, from Misnie, were settled at Baan, in the district of Trentschin, and J. Schwarz, of Wittemberg, at Bartfeld, in the district of Zips. These learned schools were of great importance, even to the common people, in a country where, until quite lately, Latin was used in the law-courts and in conversation. Peasants in the Carpathian villages were then taught Latin and Greek.

All the regulations of this period placed the schools under the direction of the Church; for, it was said, the object of schools is the preservation of the Church, which proved true enough in times of persecution. This idea gave birth to a considerable number of Gymnasia or Lyceums, which the general use of the Latin tongue has maintained in existence, though the scholastic system had by no means kept pace with other establishments. This immobility, however, has doubtless been of use in preserving some good customs from the innovations of modern times. Thus the school still forms a constituent part of the Church, of which it is, as it were, a lower step. The teachers are ecclesiastical functionaries, who take part in public worship, and may, if their acquirements are sufficient, exchange the primary school or Lyceum for the pulpit of the pastor. In small parishes, some, who have been ordained, unite both offices. In this case, they bear the singular name of Levites. The appointment of school rectors and masters rests with the pastor and parishioners. Teachers of primary schools used to be engaged (and in some reformed localities still are), like servants, by the year, and for miserable stipends. In country places they had often only eight florins in money, with lodging and gifts in kind; professors at

the Lyceum of Œdenburg had, before 1848, only their lodging and schooling, and from 200 to 280 florins, C.M.: they were under the necessity of increasing their means by private lessons.

The miserable position of the masters, and the hybrid character of the primary schools, at once Latin and elementary, resulted in teachers being engaged who were either mechanics out of work, or students who had just left the Lyceum, and were utterly unprepared for their duties. The chief blame of all this must fall on the carelessness of the pastors; the influence of the few bright exceptions which might be made, extended to a very narrow sphere, and did not check the universal evil.

1. Learned Schools.

It is in these schools that future pastors, and the majority of teachers, are educated.* Before the organization of Lyceums and schools by Government, in 1849-50, almost every small town or important borough possessed at least one gymnasium, with three, four, or five classes. It is true that four classes could sometimes only boast of two professors between them. I could even instance a case where one master did all the duty, and could only obtain a colleague when his strength failed. The parish also obstinately refused to change the Latin school into a good secondary one. Many men of talent were thus deterred from embracing this profession. Others hastened to leave it for the ministry, or neglected their proper functions for private lessons, which are not difficult to obtain, owing to the general feeling that public instruction is insufficient. The evil was increased by the unsatisfactory superintendence of pastors and synods; the former were indifferent and uncultivated, the latter made the reduction of expense their only object.

It used to be the custom, till very lately, to send students about the country, to collect donations. Leutschau sent them as far as the Serbian frontier; without much success, certainly. These collections are now forbidden by Government, although the Catholic monks are allowed freely to continue theirs.

The pupils were in a far better position than the masters. The terms of instruction were low; the elder students could even gain something by private lessons to the younger ones, besides which, the greater part of any endowment was appropriated to the free support of the scholars. This explains the

* See "Notice sur l'Instruction Publique en Autriche."—Deutsche Vierteljahrs Schrift, 1855. No. 71, p. 63—108.

astonishing number of pupils. They come alike from amongst the lower nobility, tradesmen, pastors, and teachers.

As to what was learned at these schools, a little Latin was about all, as in the primary schools neither grammar, rhetoric, or logic, was scarcely taught. The least imperfect secondary schools were at Pesth, Œdenburg, and Oberschützen; Presburg alone had one fully organized. In many places, there were no examinations or trial of any kind. The masters were not selected for special duties, and many, passing from one class to another, found themselves called to teach what they hardly knew themselves.

The study of Latin gave place to that of the Magyar tongue, which is too poor for the expression of abstract ideas as well as for modern terminology, but which an injudicious national prejudice imposed on the people. The annual examinations consisted in the distribution of papers containing questions, which the pupils had to answer in writing. There being no examination for admission to the theological class, the less able students were thus encouraged to select this career.

This sad state of things no longer exists, thanks to the ministerial organization of gymnasia and secondary schools,* which, with some trifling modifications, has been rendered available for the whole kingdom, by an imperial decree of 9th December, 1854. Consequently, any one may now obtain the consent of the Minister to establish a gymnasium, provided he guarantees the necessary funds, and complies with the requirements of the law. Pupils are admissible at the age of nine, and pass through eight classes, which each occupy a year, to their final examination; twelve special masters are appointed, of whom one is always the responsible director. The last examination includes questions on philosophy, preparatory studies, Latin, and sometimes Greek; but this is considered to have too Protestant a tendency. Besides these, secondary gymnasia are authorized, with only four classes and six masters. The classical books used must be approved by the State Minister. The language in which instruction is given is optional, according to the locality, and the progress of the pupils. The study of German is, however, obligatory everywhere, except in Lombardy, and the instruction of the higher classes is generally given in that language. Can-

* Decrees of July 22 and 26, September 15, November 24, 1849; of October 29, 1850, and especially for Hungary, of January 8 and 15, 1850.

didates for masterships are subjected to a severe examination. Two chaplains are appointed to each gymnasium by the Administration, on the proposal of the ecclesiastical authorities.

In spite of the necessity of these arrangements, their little interference with the internal life of the Church, and the bad consequences of prolonging temporary expedients, the new regulations met with decided opposition from the Protestants, especially the Lutherans. Schools were opened in conformity with national sympathies, though penalties were thus incurred which had been duly announced, but which were treated with contempt. Alarm lest the new organisation should take away the self-government of the Church, and the power of the pastors over the schools, caused a deaf ear to be turned to the assurances of the Government that the promotion of learning was the only object in view, and that the right of supervision should be equally extended to Romanists and Protestants. Several times a formal declaration was made by the ministry that the choice of religious books for the schools, as well as the manuals of history, should be guaranteed to the ecclesiastical authorities. They would not believe it; indeed some, including several bishops, declared that the plan was formed simply to corrupt the education of youth. National prejudice, too, rose against the necessity of having at least one upper class taught in German.

Government would not retract. Amongst the Romanists, several small schools were united into one, useless ones were closed, incompetent masters had their rights of publicity taken from them, and ignorant ecclesiastics, then in great number, were sent away. Lacking learned Hungarians, Bohemians were appointed, as at Strasburg, and the majority of Romish gymnasia were readily re-organised, being generally richly endowed. The Protestants were offered pecuniary aid in exchange for some portion of influence over the gymnasia. But passive resistance being every where met with, a law passed withdrawing from forty-nine Lutheran and reformed gymnasia the right of publicity; that is, the right of conferring diplomas and exempting students from eight years of military service. The secondary gymnasium of Oberschütz, being the only one which accepted the Government plan, did not come under this law.

This stroke was the more keenly felt, as Protestants had

always looked on the legal protection of their schools as a pledge of the security and independence of the Church. Forced to reflection, they finally yielded to the plan, in order to obtain the right of publicity for at least the more important gymnasia. But they soon found themselves surrounded by difficulties. There was no money to pay and support twelve masters instead of six or seven, and where were the necessary number of competent men to be found? In this respect Government favoured them by delaying the appointment of the Examination Commissioners for Hungary. These difficulties were at last happily surmounted by the three reformed gymnasia of Nagy-kæræ, Debreczin, and Hold-Meræ-Vasarhely, and later by the Lutheran gymnasium of Œdenburg. The Lutheran gymnasia of Presburg, Eperies, and Pesth, are still in process of formation. Several others of less importance allowed themselves to be absorbed in larger ones; for instance, Osgyan and Sajo-Gœmœr united with Rima-Szombat. In some parishes readiness is now shown to make sacrifices. At Pesth, twelve persons gave each 1,000 florins, C.M.; one noble gave 24,000 florins for a secondary school at Sünug; another 10,000 florins for a school at Halas.

A few words concerning the German school at Oberschützen will not be misplaced. It was founded by the well-known zealous Lutheran pastor, Wimmer. It is intended for the numerous German Protestants of the district of Œdenburg (84,000 to 86,000 Protestant Magyars), and exists independently of the higher Magyar gymnasium, to which, however, the elder pupils resort until a higher German class can also be established. This school comprises alike the lower classes of a gymnasium, and of a secondary school, and a normal training school for teachers, which thoroughly educates twelve young men, in a course of four years' duration. The number of scholars in the two sections, since 1849, is 495; they come from fifteen different districts of Hungary, from Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Croatia, and Trieste. It thus meets the need of many German parishes, and is the more to be commended from the truly Christian spirit with which it is conducted. The flattering approbation of the Ministry has been bestowed on the director, Schubert; the trained masters are eagerly sought for by other schools; and, altogether, we have reason to say that the aid generously rendered by foreign

brethren (the Gustavus-Adolphus and Swiss-Protestant-Ecclesiastical Societies) has fallen into good ground, and brought forth fruit to the glory of God.

One of our greatest obstacles to the prompt re-organization of schools, is the want of competent masters. Romish bishops and superiors of orders have found means to supply this deficiency, and it is most necessary we should do so too. With them, suitable young men, after keeping their terms at home, are sent to complete their studies at Vienna, either in the Philologico-historic Seminary or in the Physical Institute, with an annual pay of 400 florins, the only stipulation being, that on their return they shall teach for two years in some gymnasium belonging to their own confession. Why cannot we do the same? * Why should we not send to the upper schools of Vienna (which are inoffensive in a religious point of view) a certain number of young men, chosen by ourselves, and supplied with means, either by us or by Government, which, in particular cases, is ready to show liberality, without distinction of creed?

Subjoined is a tabular view of the state of the Lutheran and Reformed Gymnasia in Hungary, at the close of the school term of 1853. The divisions are made according to the language used for instruction:—

Observations.	Districts.	Total No. of Gymnasia.	Languages.				
			Magyar only.	German only.	Slavonic only.	Magyar and German.	German and Slavonic.
All without rights of publicity	Presburg	7	1	„	2	2	2
Only 1 public, Oberschützen	Œdenburg	7	3	1	„	3	„
By a decree of 27th Sept., 1855, three lose the rank of Gymnasia, those of Pesth and Nagy-Kœræs, H. C. public	Pest-Ofen	12	11	„	„	1	„
Bartfeld is shut; Eperies public ...	Kaschau	10	7	1	„	2	„
Béchés, lost the rank of Gymnasium; Debreczin, H. C. public...	Grosswardein	10	8	„	„	2	„

* I call attention here to the Appeal addressed by the Theological Faculty of Bonn, on the 8th of January, 1853, to other Theological faculties, in favour of the Hungarian Gymnasia. [A copy of this Appeal will be found in *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. vii., p. 118.—Ed.]

2. Popular Schools.

The schools for the people are in a deplorable state; and the necessity for reform is all the more urgent that the remedy, from the nature of things, must act slowly. It has been already said in what hands the instruction is. Students, incapable of carrying on their studies, leave the gymnasium after four or five years, without having even entered on rhetoric, and are immediately appointed teachers in these schools. Thus, for instance, the whole district of Tamaez has been supplied by the little second class gymnasium of Szent-Lœrinez, now closed. Excepting the normal school of Oberschützen, named above, and whose small means limit the number of masters, there is not one training school in all the country. The Lutheran one, established at Nyiregyhaza, near Eperies, has fallen to the ground.

The teachers supplied by the class of mechanics must, necessarily, be even less fitted for their work. Yet, amongst the men whom necessity or natural taste has called to this employment, and whose bare elementary knowledge is united to good sense, there are some who, in general conduct, are much superior to the abortive scholars just described. Altogether, the country schools of the three national creeds are managed in a pitiable way. Our rural population can never get beyond an imperfect knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, with a mere smattering of the Bible and Catechism; if anything else is attempted, it is in the senseless way of dictation, learned by heart. The elementary teaching in towns is not much better, owing to the carelessness of the pastors; for instance, at the annual examinations, which are statedly held in the church, the children are allowed to repeat, unreproved, the most frivolous and unsuitable pieces of poetry. An honourable exception must be made in favour of the dean and pastors of the upper district of Eisenburg. By their care the schools are actively visited, libraries for the use of the masters are being established, and a plan of instruction and supervision is now being elaborated. May God bless their labours! and may we be better prepared to receive the laws which Government is about to give to the primary schools, than we were for those of the gymnasia!

A Magyar journal of instruction has been for some time published, under the auspices of L. Szeberéngi, professor at the secondary school of Békés-Csaba; it is called *Neptanitok-*

Kœnyre (book for primary teachers.) Our eight thousand Protestant teachers had formerly no organ of the kind.

Among other obstacles in the way of the development of primary instruction, I may mention the country custom of only keeping school from the 11th of November to the 23rd of April, which gives the masters long holidays. Being generally employed as civil notaries, and it being usual to conclude all business at a tavern, they are led into a mode of life little suited to their position. For this reason the conjunction of offices has been, in some districts, forbidden. But what can be done in places where the teacher is the only person who can read and write, and where he cannot exist without the fee of the office (amounting to three hundred florins), the stated salary varying from twenty to two hundred florins, increased only by some gifts in kind, and the produce of a small piece of ground?

There are still some mixed schools, the evil of which, for Protestant children, is acknowledged, and efforts are being made to suppress them.

To resume: as to gymnasia, we find in our Church an ill-founded suspicion of government, and a great need of pecuniary means and capable men; as to primary schools, a great lack of zeal on the part of the Church, and a total absence of good masters. National jealousies, and political restraints, have doubtless favoured this state of things, but the chief cause of the evil is the want of living faith. Our Church, engrossed with a thousand non-essential and external things, has lost sight of the treasure of life, the love and hope which we have in Christ through the Holy Spirit. To this must be added the culpable indifference shown as to spiritual intercourse with foreign brethren, which may be explained, but not excused, by the restraints of subordinate Government officers. Assuredly, judging after the manner of men, we might say that the Church in this country is dying, and the Jesuits may reasonably hope that her destruction will be accomplished through the unfaithfulness of her pastors. But this would be to doubt the power of the Gospel, which has not yet wholly left us, as is evident in the earnest desire felt by thousands for a renewed effusion of the Spirit on our Churches. Let us beseech God, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to have pity on them, and to restore to them the life and glory of days gone by, when they sent forth martyrs ready to shed their blood for the cause of Christ!

TRANSYLVANIA.

The inhabitants of this country belong to four principal nationalities. We shall include in the same category Greeks, Armenians, and Romans, or Wallachians, as being almost entirely attached to the Greek Church, united or ununited. We shall take no account of them further than to observe that they are excluded from certain high functions, accorded indifferently to three other nations by the Edict of Andrew II., in 1214. In other respects they enjoy complete religious liberty.

The Germans or Saxons, called into the country under Geyza II. in the thirteenth century, have completely preserved their language and their manners, and are all at the present time attached to the Augsburg Confession.

The Szeklers, who occupy a fourth part of the country on the eastern military confines, are Catholic, Reformed, and a few Unitarians.

The Magyars, in the north-west, are Catholics, Reformed, or Unitarian; in the district of Cronstadt they are nearly all Lutherans.

The Reformation took place in this country in the years 1521 to 1545, on the basis of the *Augsburg Confession*. The first Lutheran superintendent was nominated in 1553. From 1556 to 1589 the Queen Isabella, widow of John Zapolya, made over to the Lutherans the rights, immunities, and property of the ancient Catholic bishopric, not without numerous spoliations on the part of the nobility. In 1572, at the very time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, this country was the first of all others to set the example of proclaiming entire and unlimited liberty of worship, and consequently re-admitted Catholics. The effect of this measure preserved the country, in a great degree, from the persecutions directed by the Jesuits. Even Leopold I., so fanatical in Hungary, when he received the country from the hands of the last national prince Apaty, confirmed at his coronation the liberty and equality of the four Churches of the country. Legally, the Romish Church occupies the third rank. But since the re-establishment, and the rich endowment of its clergy, and under the influence of the Government, it stands, in fact, first.

The inhabitants are divided as follows, according to their respective confessions :—Unitarians, 45,000; Greeks, 1,200,000; Catholics, 200,000; Reformed, 325,000 (261,000 ?) ; Lutherans, 210,000 (165,477 ? 199,176?) The constitution of the LUTHERAN CHURCH was discussed in 1754, reviewed in 1764, and promulgated in 1783. The state of this Church, if viewed according to the legal liberty it enjoys and the richness of its resources, ought to be excellent. The entire liberty of passing from one Church to another, and of parents in the different Churches to decide the religion of their children, would be a means of great influence in the hands of a pastoral body less infected with Rationalism and indifference than is that of this country, as well Lutheran as Reformed. This disposition is too well characterised by the following words, publicly uttered by the Superintendent Binder :—"In the seventeenth century," he says, "we had a lively contest with the Reformed; in the eighteenth, another with the Pietists and the Moravian brethren. At the present time we guard against all exclusive profession of Rationalism or of supernaturalism, and by a Christian moderation, in which we have full conscience, we redeem ourselves as much as possible to that practical Christianity which, while having its basis on the faith, does not, nevertheless, disdain any of its forms which seem calculated to produce and nourish the fruits of Christian fraternity. This is doubly necessary in a country where there are four different nationalities of manners and education, and four or five Churches equally removed one from another." A new generation, formed in the Universities of Germany, full of faith and zeal, are now ready to infuse new life into this dead body. No one dreams of propagating the Gospel either in this country or Wallachia. Bible societies are scarcely known.

This Church admits all the symbolical books, with the exception of the formula of the Concord. Worship is not conducted in a uniform manner, nor always with the same liturgy. That of Seiler is principally used at the present time. The hymns also differ. As to the rest, custom has preserved many exterior forms, and the smallest churches have organs. Private confession and solemn benediction of *enceinte* mothers is still the general custom. The Lord's Supper and Divine service are assiduously observed ; and the Sabbath is sanctified more than elsewhere. Since 1849 a great number of the parishes have

become so impoverished that aid has been solicited from foreigners.

All the schools are under the direction of the Church. The Lutherans possess five gymnasia and one secondary school, all having public rights, or conferring diplomas. The candidates in theology, after having attended their classes, go to Vienna or Germany to continue their studies. They do not receive pastoral appointments till they have served as teachers, deacons, and vicars, whose duties are the administration of baptism, nuptial benedictions, visiting the sick, and attending funerals. The superintendent or bishop, whose seat, by an Imperial decree of 27th of December, 1854, has been transferred to Hermannstadt, can alone confer ordination. Every ordained minister is raised to the same rank as the nobility; formerly they were exempt from all taxes and contributions.

The total number of parishes is 289, of which 268 are German, 19 Magyar, and two Roman or Wallachian. They are divided into chapters, presided over by deans, the number of whom was twelve, but is now reduced to nine, by a provisional ministerial order of 27th February, 1855. The choice of the pastor must be confirmed by the Government. Every commune elects for life one of the three candidates proposed by the synod of the district. This last elects its dean biennially from the three most aged pastors of the chapter. The superintendent, with a member of the superior consistory, visits one chapter every year. He also convokes the general synod, which, in presence of a "*mutus regius*," decides on all affairs exclusively ecclesiastical. Every parish has its local consistory, composed of the pastor, the elders, and certain notable functionaries, and presided over formerly by a layman, now by the pastor. It administers the property of the Church, and exercises discipline, in view of which the young are organized into fraternities. It decides by plurality of votes; the pastor has a veto. In every chapter a consistory of the district, or a domestic consistory, overlooks the religious and moral condition of the parishes, and the distribution of the Church funds. The superior consistory at Hermannstadt was composed of the superintendent, the general dean, an orator, a general syndic, deans, the principal Saxon functionaries, and the delegates of the eleven Saxon districts, designated by the Diet, under the presidency of the first privy councillor. This assembly was not instituted by the State, but submitted its de-

cision and rules to the approbation of the Emperor. Its members received no entertainment; its business is to defend the rights and liberties of the Church, to watch over the purity of its doctrine and discipline, over education, and the distribution of its funds, and over the labours of the other consistories. All questions purely religious, concerning pastors, masters, or pupils, and marriage questions, were reserved to the consistories, with right of appeal to the Emperor.

This organisation has recently been modified by a provisional *decree* of the administration of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania (see *Hornyansky*, 1855, p. 195) in ninety paragraphs. The new administration consists—

I. *For the Parish*, (A) of a council presided over by the pastor, (B) of a more complete assembly presided over by the same.

II. *For the District*, (A) of a consistory of the district, presided over by the dean, (B) of the ecclesiastical assembly, composed of all the pastors and elected laity, presided over by the dean.

III. *For the whole Church*, (A) of the consistory of superintendents, (B) of the general consistory.

Article 5 only recognises in the Government the right of supervision. No meeting is public.

The Emperor's representative in ecclesiastical affairs was formerly the Aulic-Chancellor of Transylvania; now it is the governor, who corresponds with the superior consistory, and by preference, for some time past, with the superintendent.

Since the abolition of the tithe without indemnity in 1848, the pastors have been in great perplexity as to their support.

A journal was begun, in 1846, by Pastor Roth, of Nimesch, whose project of immigration for German Protestants succeeded so badly. In 1848-49 the Saxons remained faithful to the Emperor, and energetically defended their nationality, which was menaced by the revolutionists. Three hundred of them were on this occasion massacred.

The Reformed Church, composed, for the most part, of Magyars and Szeklers, did not separate from the Lutherans till 1564, and still preserves in its constitution some traces of its former union with them. On the pastors alone, for instance, is devolved, without the concurrence of the elders, the direction of the parish. A superintendent, elected for life by the synods and confirmed by the Emperor, resides at Klausenburg, and confers ordination in the name of the synod. Subordinated to him are

eighteen deans or inspectors, called also archdeacons (*esperets-presbyters*), whose duty it is to visit the churches of each district every three years. The *synods of the district* meet three times a year to deliberate on such faults of the pastors as subject them to discipline, to watch over ecclesiastic discipline, to judge in matrimonial questions, &c. Every pastor is by right a member of these assemblies; nevertheless, practically, they are only composed of the dean, the secretary of the district, the delegates or assessors chosen by the pastors, and certain lay members, called curators. The *general synod* meets at least once a year in a place, the choice of which is determined by the faculty. It is composed of the superintendent, the deans, secretaries, and assessors of districts, and certain professors and lay functionaries. Its business is to examine candidates, to elect superintendents, and take cognisance of disciplinary and matrimonial questions. The *superior consistory*, including all the magnates and nobles, pastors of a certain age, and the professors of Klausenburg and of Wiessenburg, is convoked by the *college of curators*, composed of the superintendent and three lay functionaries of the first rank. Since 1790, this superior consistory has had its seat at Klausenburg, was organized by the Diet in 1709, and contained an indefinite number of laymen and ecclesiastics, several royal councillors, one of whom was generally the president. The Government, however, did not itself take part in the administration of the Reformed. But in 1821, the consistory having determined, in conformity with an Imperial order, and without consulting the synod, to celebrate St. Stephen's Day, opposition was manifested to the predominant influence of the State; and from that time the Imperial approbation of their deliberations has been dispensed with. The Emperor annulled these last in 1836, which gives reason to think that there may be a further re-organization of the Reformed Church.

The pastors are nominated by isolated patrons or by the nobles of the parish. Their material position suffers from the suppression of the tithes. In a spiritual view they are of the same disposition as the Lutherans. The synod assembled in 1855 to order the compilation of a new liturgy conformed to the Heidelberg Catechism. The Reformed have four gymnasia—at Nag-yenyed, Klausenburg, Maros-Vasarhely, and Szek-Udvarhely which are now endeavouring to obtain the rights of publicity in

conferring diplomas. They have further resolved that a scholastic institution, or theological seminary, shall be founded at Klausenburg.

The Unitarians (as they call themselves in preference to Socinians), for the most part Magyars and Szeklers, form 104 parishes, with 120 pastors. They have a superintendent at Klausenburg, assisted by a general secretary and a general orator, usually chosen from among the professors, and a superior consistory. From this authority are selected eight archdeaconries, each directed by an archdeacon and a secretary, and two lay noble curators. Their doctrine is a singular mixture of ancient Socinianism with some supernaturalistic elements. The Holy Scriptures explained by reason, which controls the conscience, is the basis of their dogma. Jesus is a real man, but not an ordinary man ; He is superior to all by His supernatural generation of the Holy Spirit, by His divine life, and by His exaltation after His ascension into Heaven. As He thus realises, in an eminent sense, the idea of a Son of God, although not from all eternity, he fully deserves divine honour. Our reconciliation with God is not the effect of His passion and death, but of the right of intercession for us in Heaven, which he has merited by His work. Man is not a sinner by nature ; it is not the internal disposition, but the external action, which constitutes sin. Justification is obtained by obedience to the will of God, revealed by Jesus.

They have three gymnasia, which have the right of publicity, at Szek-Kereztur and Klausenburg.

CROATIA, DALMATIA, SCLAVONIA, TYROL.

There are, in *Lower Sclavonia*, seven Protestant, Lutheran, or Reformed parishes. The law of the 18th January, 1781, guarantees them the free exercise of their worship. Nevertheless, the old municipal law, which is yet in use in these countries, while permitting Protestants to sojourn in them, forbids them the possession either of houses, seignorial, or other property, thus treating them less kindly than Jews or Turks. Further, in common with these, they are excluded from all public functions. A few scattered Protestants at Heiligenkreuz and at Podgradje in Croatia, come from Laybach.

A similar exclusion takes place in the *Tyrol*, which is more

striking; as this country is situated within the limits of the Germanic Confederation, which guarantees civil equality to Christians of all denominations. The Evangelical inhabitants of the Zillerthal having asked that their sojourn in the dwellings of their fathers might be tolerated, received permission only to sell their goods and to emigrate into another province or a foreign land. The Germanic diet affording them no protection, the King of Prussia assigned them a new country in Silesia.

A recent fact is, however, cited of an authorisation having been granted in this country to a Protestant family to acquire property and to form part of the civil commune.

GALLICIA AND BUKOWINE.

Bukowine includes two Lutheran parishes, and Gallicia eighteen, the one at Cracow being under the direction of the excellent superintendent Lemberg. With the exception of one which is German, they are all Polish.

VENETIAN LOMBARDY.

Milan and Venice possess two isolated Lutheran parishes. They are, for the greater part, formed of merchants and soldiers of the garrison, and are tolerated without difficulty.

THE HEREDITARY STATES.

This name comprehends the archduchy of Austria, the district of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Littorale, Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia. With the exception of the Littorale, all these countries were aforetime almost entirely Protestant. Bohemia, the country of Huss; Moravia, the cradle of the Moravian brethren, who number by millions the protestants of the Czèque nationality. There were also Poles of Austrian Silesia. The Germans in Upper and Lower Austria, and in the district of Salzburg, the Germans, the Wendes, and the Roman population of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, and Istria, became disciples of the Gospel. The formula of the Concord was signed in Styria by eighty-nine pastors, seven professors, and eighteen schoolmasters; in Carniola, by twenty pastors, and ten schoolmasters; in Carinthia, by sixty-four pastors and twenty-two schoolmasters. There was not then, between Germany and the compact

mass of the Protestants in Hungary, that great desert which knows only by report the flourishing condition of the numerous Evangelical states with which it was formerly peopled. Nothing remains of these churches but the sad ruins, which the following table proves:—

LUTHERAN CHURCH.

	Parishes.	Deans.	Souls.	Language.
Superintendency of Vienna for Lower and Central Austria	—	—	—	—
Lower Austria:—Vienna, Nasswald, Mitterbach...	—	—	—	—
Styria:—Five Parishes...	—	—	—	—
Carniola:—Laybach	—	—	—	—
Trieste	—	—	—	—
Venice.....	—	—	—	—
Carinthia: — 15 parishes	25	2	36,062	17 Ger., 8 Wendes
Superintendency of Efferding, for Upper Austria and Salzburg	12	—	16,440	German
Superintendency of Oppatowitz, for Bohemia ...	15	—	29,251	2 Ger., 13 Czèque
The Inspectorate of Asch, on the west of Bohemia, from Vienna	3	—	4,000	German
Superintendency of Brünn, for Moravia and Silesia:—				
Moravia	14	3	79,648	2 Ger., 12 Czèque
Silesia	14			2 Ger., 7 Cz., 5 Pole
	83		165,401	

REFORMED CHURCH.

	Parishes.	Deans.	Souls.	Language.
Superintendency of Vienna for Upper and Lower Austria	—	—	—	—
Lower Austria:—Vienna	—	—	—	—
Littorale:—Trieste	—	—	—	—
Carniola:—Laybach.....	—	—	—	—
Gallicia:—3 parishes ...	6	—	6,612	3 Ger., 3 Pole
Superintendency of Kchen, for Bohemia	38	3	56,832	Czèque
Superintendency of Warmowitz, for Moravia ...	18	3	34,797	Czèque
	62		98,241	

As Germany, bound by the conditions of the religious peace of Augsburg, could make no opposition, and as they received no

support from their Hungarian co-religionists, the numerous Churches of this country are, so to speak, annihilated. The Jesuits proceeded to drive away the pastors, first by intimidation, then by claims of a fictitious right, then by persuasion, and finally, in case of resistance, by pitiless expulsion, imprisonment, tortures and war. Before ascending the throne, Ferdinand began to clear his duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carinola of heretics. This pious work, the result of a vow made to the Virgin, was commenced the same year as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and was accomplished in less than six years, with the aid of the dragonnades. A list still exists of the heretical Churches which were then destroyed, drawn up by one of the chief actors in this anti-reformation, the Bishop of Sikau. Having become Emperor, Ferdinand II. continued his work in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, and brought it to a good conclusion by arms, expulsion, and the scaffold, in less than eight years. This success encouraged him to try his hand in Hungary, but prudently, lest he should clash against political susceptibilities. Leopold I., who reigned from 1657 to 1705, was to Hungary a Decius and a Dioclesian, until the siege of Vienna by the Turks awakened his conscience.

The district of Salzburg, then under the sovereignty of its Prince Archbishop, saw its Protestants, who were gradually increasing, expelled by a decree of the 31st October, 1735, the anniversary of the Theses of Wittemberg, which, according to the custom of the times, was fixed upon to make the measure the more severe.

Many Protestants, who had formally abjured, through weakness, continued in the profoundest secresy to assemble in houses, in the woods, and on mountains, to read the Bible and other ancient religious books. The history of the Evangelical Church of Hungary, published in 1854, mentions, as one of the punishments inflicted for reading the Bible, the violent separation of parents and children, the one being expelled from Hungary, the other shut up in convents. They were much astonished, in 1781, to see a great number of hidden Protestants appear at the time of the edict of toleration.

The following are the conditions of this edict, which is in force to the present day. A Protestant parish must be composed of at least 100 families, or 500 souls, in order to have the right, on proving the sufficiency of their pecuniary means, of possessing

a pastor (called *pastor*, and not *pfarrer*, according to a recently renewed prohibition), a schoolmaster, and a house of prayer, which must not be surmounted by a clock-tower, nor be situated on the highway. The Protestants, continuing to be considered as refractory Catholics, and consequently to be called ex-Catholics,* the Catholic curé alone has the right to keep the parish registers for both, and he exacts tithes from the Protestants as well as the Catholics. In the case of mixed marriages between a Protestant and a Catholic wife, they require an engagement, in writing, that all the children shall be brought up in the Catholic religion, even in case of the death, or conversion to Protestantism, of the Catholic party. The curé alone publishes bans and blesses marriages, except in cases in which the ceremony is refused, when he contents himself with being "passively present."

If the marriage be between a Catholic and a Protestant wife, the children are obliged to follow the religion of the father. Conversions to Protestantism are not permitted until after a continued instruction of six weeks by the curé. This article, with the connivance of justice, was interpreted in such a manner as to authorise the curé to allow such intervals to pass between his instruction as to prolong the period for years. I may refer to the well-known instance of the Church of Gallneukirchen, near Linz, in Upper Austria, converted by Martin Boos; and I may mention a specimen of the disposition of the civil authorities in regard to conversions. The following is a literal copy of what was said to a young Catholic woman, who had married a Protestant, and who desired to become a Protestant. "Conformably to the Imperial ordinance of 21st Jan., 1808, you are obliged, during a course of six weeks instruction, to avoid all connection with Protestants, which obligation will be carefully watched." The *ex-Catholic* husband of the petitioner is then warned from engaging in any religious conversation during that time, and from any word, for or against, under pain of the punishment awarded in case of proselytism.

The edict of toleration does not concede to Protestants every civil right.

In 1848 and 1849 numerous petitions were addressed to the Emperor for entire equality of rights with the Catholic Church,

* The Author uses the word *Acatholiques*.—FRENCH ED.

based on the 17th Article of the Austrian constitution, which formally guarantees religious liberty. They silently permit the erection of churches, but as for the rest, the ordinance of the 30th January, 1849, is very moderate in its concessions, and even these are always provisional. The principal is that which facilitates conversions. It is now only necessary to make a declaration twice, after an interval of four weeks, before the curate and two witnesses, who write it on paper, bearing a florin stamp. The publication of bans, nuptial benedictions, the keeping of Church registers, and the right of giving valid extracts from them, are permitted to the Protestant pastor. Fees to the curates and Catholic sacristans are only obligatory for services actually rendered, whilst the tithes are still continued. Finally, the official appellative of ex-Catholic has been exchanged for that of Evangelical Lutherans and Reformed.

The real disposition of the authorities may be judged of by the prohibition to a converted priest to marry, under the pretext that his vow was opposed to it. A recent case, which the energetic intercession of the English minister has made public, is that of a monk who was shut up in a madhouse for the pretended crime of conversion to Protestantism. There is a rumour that other monks converted abroad and cleverly enticed into the country, languish in mysterious dungeons. At Gitschin there is a process for demanding, in the name of religious liberty, the right of burying in a Catholic cemetery.

At Laybach, the Protestants, now formed into a parish, have succeeded in obtaining permission to celebrate their service, on condition that the pastor shall personally guarantee that no Catholic shall be present; and the police has even been there to be assured of the fact. At Tœplitz, all manner of discourse, lectures, or interments, are forbidden to the Protestants.

The hereditary States suffer equally from the bad state of instruction. Not only are thousands of scattered Protestants, but whole parishes, obliged to send their children to Catholic schools. Where schools do exist they are in a pitiable condition; the children leave school at the age of twelve. Those who are in future to be teachers attend three or four classes of a principal town school, according as they are destined for the country or the town; and as there are no principal Protestant schools but at Vienna, Trieste, Teschen, and Prague, these studies are ordi-

narily pursued at a Catholic school. After a year's course of preparation, under the director of this school, the pupil obtains his diploma, and sometimes finds a situation at the age of eighteen or nineteen. In default of a situation, he works as an artisan or engages himself as a valet; or he becomes a musician either at public dances, at village *fêtes*, or in those travelling bands of Bohemian musicians who are so well known in Germany. What a preparation for his future functions! As attendance on a principal school is obligatory before entering the gymnasium, the future pastor himself is obliged to frequent the Catholic school for several years. The only Protestant gymnasium in the hereditary States—that of Teschen, which has hitherto been supported by the contributions of the churches—is now, with its funds, made over to the State, and has been sustained by it since 1853.

The School of Theology, founded at Vienna in 1819, and opened in 1821, has just obtained the right of creating doctors, and thus takes the character of a faculty, although it does not form a part of the university. It is here that the majority of the pastors are educated, and it is to be deplored that it has hitherto favoured the propagation of the most superficial Rationalism, except in Upper Austria, which is an honourable exception. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that, in 1837, a pastor of Carinthia, and, in 1843, a pastor of Moravia, went over to Romanism.

The Lutheran pastors, from the time of their ordination to the ministry, engage to preach the Word of God in its purity, as it is set forth in the Augsburg Confession, and explained in the other symbolical books. There is no liturgy nor official hymns. Instead of the excellent indigenous liturgy of the time of the Reformation, they generally use, in Upper Austria, the Wurtemburg liturgy and the miserable hymns of Glatz: the adoption of a collection of hymns, to be uniformly used by all the parishes, has just been decided by the consistory of Vienna. The frequent use of good old books of edification (Roos, Scriver, Arndt, Stark, Moller, Brastberger, Hofacker, Müller) continue to be an excellent spiritual buckler for the parishes. A journal, *The Messenger of the Faith* (Evang. Glaubensbose), of Czerwenka, is just beginning to be published. No one dreams of Union.* Motives, inspired by a spirit of Czek nationality, have, however, induced

* That is, of the fusion of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

Kossuth and Rucizka, in 1849, warmly to pursue this idea in a journal called the *Cesko Bnatnsky Klasatel* (Bohemian fraternal newspaper); but this project, which demanded an entire yielding on the part of the Lutherans, came to nothing. The purely external union of the two confessions, existing in the same parish at Laybach, is without significance. The assembly of superintendents and delegates of the two Churches convoked at Vienna, in 1850, by the Government, only expressed sterile wishes on this subject. Some very rare instances of religious awakening are seen here and there. This is not the place to speak of the actions and sentiments of the unbelieving pastor, W. Kossuth.

New parishes have been formed at Laybach, Feldkirchen, and Tœplitz. The parish chooses its pastor from among three candidates, previously selected by Government. The superintendents and deans are nominated, and in part paid, by the Emperor, on the proposition of the Consistory. The payment of pastors by the State has been demanded, but without success, by many petitions from Silesia and Bohemia. The great poverty of the parishes is sometimes the cause of protracted vacancies; the number of students in theology is very few; the widows and orphans of pastors are, notwithstanding some funds left by pious people, in a miserable condition. The Emperor is said to have given more or less in peculiar cases; but the difficulty of connecting with the support of pastors the funds necessary for the maintenance of the churches, schools, and presbyteries, for the most part in ruins, would certainly have entailed the dissolution of the entire series of parishes, had it not been for the blessed activity of the Gustavus Adolphus Society.

The Lutheran and Reformed Churches have each a Consistory at Vienna, under the same president, who is a *lay-Catholic*.

It is in the midst of this state of the Protestant Church, that we wish to characterise what has supervened on the *Concordat concluded between the Austrian Government and the Pope*, dated 18th August, 1855, and of which it remains for us to speak.

This act places our Church, animated by so cold and unearnest a faith, face to face with a Church whose faith is not less dead, but which directs a youthful generation of priests, ardently desirous of subjecting to canonical obedience every heretical faction, and of tearing from the hands of the people all religious books. As their only defence, the Protestants of the Hereditary States have a Consistory whose organization is

completely irrational, whose hands are tied, and whose activity is deprived of all communion with the Holy Spirit. The Protestants of Hungary have not even the support of a constitution, this having been taken from them by the caprice of a military chief, under the pretext that a Church to which such men as General Haynau, Bruck, the Minister of Finance, and Marshal Radetzky belonged, would serve as an instrument for culpable political plots! What resistance can be opposed, in such a state of things, to a Government which has just placed itself under the power of the Romish Church, to an extent unprecedented since the invention of printing?

Let us take a glance of the Articles of the Concordat, which are the most likely to influence the relations of our Church with the Romish Church.

The 1st Article establishes the sum total of the privileges of the Catholic Church throughout the whole extent of the empire, and consequently for those countries where equality of rights was admitted, at least by law. In addition to this, Article 35, annulling all laws, ordinances, and rules, which are found contradictory to the Concordat, we shall have nothing to hope for the future but the feeble remains of a simple toleration!

Articles 2 and 3 suppress for ever the *placetum regium*, and authorise the bishops to publish, without control, any ecclesiastical measures they please to take. Will the functionaries be obliged to execute them in respect to the Protestants as well as Catholics?

Article 9 gives to the Archbishops and Bishops the right of specifying books, which, according to them, are contrary to religion and morals, and to forbid their perusal, with the assurance that government will prevent their publication and sale. Will the government allow to this faculty an extent equal to that of the *mandements* of the Italian bishops, and will they be permitted to go so far as to prohibit the circulation of the Bible and Protestant books, or will the government reserve to itself the superior control in the matter?

Article 10 subjects matrimonial affairs to the Episcopal tribunals, and the execution of the ordinance to be held in abeyance to a modification of the civil law concerning marriage. Will the rights the Protestants have enjoyed in this respect be recognised, extended, or annulled?

Articles 11 and 16 authorize the bishop to pronounce all

disciplinary ecclesiastical penalties, and especially to punish and imprison ecclesiastics who incur their displeasure, from whatever cause. Will this right be extended by similar means, to prevent the conversion of Catholic priests to Protestantism? And can those whose conversion is an accomplished fact be refused the right of marrying, thus branding them with their character indelibly, and incarcerating them, in case of need, like Borsinsky?

Articles 13 and 14 suspend, with a certain affectation, the temporary convenience of the Pope, in respect of which Catholic priests are subjected to civil jurisdiction for offences not ecclesiastical. May it, therefore, be otherwise at some future time?

Article 16 forbids every insult against the Church and the Catholic clergy. Is this to impose silence on our Protestant Church, which, from its nature, cannot exist without bearing testimony by writing and by speech against the abuses of the Romish Church?

Officious pens have sought, in many journals, to spread the opinion that the present Concordat differs from the preceding, inasmuch as it only pretends to regulate Catholic affairs, not occupying itself with anything outside this sphere; that the liberty of action granted to Catholicism guarantees that the spirit of justice and equity of the Emperor will secure similar advantages to the Protestants in the new constitution which is promised them. No doubt certain Italian bishops openly declare that the Emperor renders himself guilty of apostacy by granting the least favour to Protestants. We should have had no certainty on this point if the conditions of the project of constitution for Hungary, approved by the Emperor on the 2nd of December, 1855, had not been known to us. We hope, however, that the men who have been consulted on this subject will know how to avoid that traditional vice towards Protestants, which consists in drowning every right and liberty in a multitude of clauses, codicils, and exceptions, which serves only to take away their real worth and importance.

Now, what support can our foreign co-religionists give us?

Little can be done by petitions or diplomatic intercessions. These last may be successful in unimportant cases, and when political interest dictates prudent concessions; but the former are absolutely forbidden. Thus the petition addressed to the Emperor in the summer of 1855 by the most distinguished

ecclesiastics of Germany, in favour of poor Borsinsky, was returned unopened.

Above all, it seems important that our position should be exactly known by our foreign brethren. Let them, therefore, come to the spot, and see, and discover the remedy to be applied. To this end it is not enough to visit some of the large towns; and the greatest prudence is necessary to avoid being suspected by the police as a spy.

It would also be well to circulate amongst us good histories of our Church, or better still—a well drawn up resumé of the *History of the Church in Hungary*, which appeared in Berlin in 1854. This history is insufficient, on account of its diffuse style, and because it never traces things to their source, and because the national and social particularities of our country are presented in a negligent manner.

Their pecuniary succour may come to facilitate the publication and cheap sale of good books, as well as to aid our poor parishes in the support of their religious establishments. May God bless the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, which, up to the present, has been our only aid!

We would further desire aid for our young theologians in the completion of their studies, at some foreign university, so long as our own schools continue insufficient for this purpose.

Finally, we beg from all our brethren the efficacious help of their prayers.

We are personally persuaded, that neither the Emperor of Austria, nor his Minister, is hostile to the Gospel. Let us pray God that no subordinate functionary may be found a willing instrument to the hatred of the Catholic clergy, but that our rights may find effectual protection on all sides. Let us not forget a fact of great importance to our Church, relatively to the Eastern Question, and which is, that in the vast empire of Austria, eight different nationalities profess the pure Gospel.

May the grace of God pour down His Holy Spirit abundantly on all our Churches, so that the dead may revive, and the living be strengthened! Amen.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER ON TRANSYLVANIA.

BY DR. MÜLLER,

DIRECTOR OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY, HERMANSTADT.

Transylvania is inhabited by three different people, not taking into account the small number of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Bohemians. These three people are: the Wallachians, amounting to 1,200,000; the Hungarians, the most ancient of whom are called Sicules,* and the other Hungarians, properly so-called, amounting to about 500,000; and the Germans, the most ancient of whom, and at the same time the majority, are called Saxons, and the rest, Germans properly so-called, amounting to about 250,000.

The first-named, that is, the Wallachians, have preferred, since the last Hungarian insurrection, the denomination of Romans, which is that of the most ancient inhabitants of the country. They are, no doubt, the descendants of the ancient Dacians, mingled with Roman colonists. The Sicules are believed to be the remnants of the ancient Huns; they speak the same language as the Hungarians proper, but they have remained free from every feudal institution up to the latest centuries, although the conquerors of the country, towards the end of the ninth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, made themselves masters of the people inhabiting the other parts of Transylvania. But, as they were more ready to make conquests than defend themselves; not being acquainted with the art of fortifying towns, nor any of those pursuits which polish manners and render a people less ferocious, one of their kings, Geyza II., pressed by these two reasons, perhaps also feeling the want of support against his powerful vassals, invited, seven centuries ago, the Germans of the Lower Rhine to come and cultivate the south of Transylvania, then devastated by frequent invasions of enemies,

* [Called in the preceding paper Szeklers.—Ed.]

and engaged them to defend this frontier by establishing along it a line of fortified towns. Germans of the Saxon branch accepted this invitation, on condition that they should place themselves under the sovereignty of the King of Hungary, as a united people, politically separated from all other people, with their own territory, and their own legislation and administration. Thus was formed in Transylvania the Saxon nation, whose political situation, which has remained permanent up to the troubles of the last years, has had so great an influence on the establishment and the development of Protestantism in the country of which we are speaking.

The Wallachians early embraced Christianity under its Greek form, to which they have remained faithful, without exception, to the present day, although more than half of them have adopted the dogmas of Roman Catholicism. The Hungarians and the Germans belong also, without exception, to the Romish Church.

The Reformation began, as is known, in Germany, in the year 1517, and as soon as 1521, its doctrines were known among the Saxons of Transylvania, and were embraced ardently, especially at Hermanstadt. Nevertheless, the work of the Reformation would have been the same to them as though it had never taken place if the great Disposer of the history of nations and their enterprises had not ordained that the same event which put an end to the independence of the kingdom of Hungary, of which Transylvania then formed a part, should become the cause of its success. We refer to the total defeat of the Hungarians in the field of Mohacs, in 1526. On this bloody day perished, besides the King, the archbishops, and a great number of the most powerful adversaries of the Reformation. After this defeat this country was entirely separated from Hungary.

The Reformation not encountering any more obstacles, was, in a little while, received by all the Saxons and by the majority of the Hungarians and Sicules; so that, at the diet of 1559, a new Church, the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, was placed beside the Romish Church, as the second National Church, with equal rights. (The Greek Church being that of the subjected people, remained, until the changes brought about by the events of later times, in the position of a tolerated Church.)

Unity soon ceased to exist among the new Reformed. The Hungarians, having some time previously received from their

neighbours in the kingdom of Hungary the doctrines of the Swiss Reformers, detached themselves from the Saxons; and although several conferences were convoked for attempting a reconciliation, the two parties would not agree, and five years after the adherents of the Helvetic Confession united themselves into a National Church, the third of the country.

Nevertheless, things did not rest here, at this time of vacillation. An Italian physician, George Blandrata, who occupied himself more with theology than with the healing art, and who secretly entertained the doctrine of Socinus, after having taken refuge in Geneva, and then in Poland, was favourably received by the Prince of Transylvania, and took advantage of the influence he acquired over him to convert him and his court to his doctrine; so that, at the diet of 1571, a fourth National Church, that of the anti-Trinitarians, or Unitarians, took place, beside the two Evangelical Churches already existing, and the Romish Church.

From that time up to the present day, these Churches, of which three are Protestant, have always preserved their equal and reciprocal rights, although they were for a moment menaced at the end of the sixteenth century, and again in the middle of the eighteenth, when efforts were made to introduce the Jesuits. Neither at the time of the Reformation nor since has there been a single drop of blood shed in Transylvania in the cause of religion, and no persecution has been known. Religious toleration, at least among the members of the Established Church, has been, and is still, full and entire; and perhaps there is not another country in which, as in this, it has been preserved for nearly three hundred years. There has not, however, existed any connection, at any time, between these Churches.

The present condition of these Churches is as follows:—The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession* contains 215,000 souls, and is divided into fifteen senoriats, having a superintendent at their head; that of the Helvetic Confession has 380,000 souls, and is divided into eighteen senoriats, having also a superintendent at their head; the Unitarian Church is composed of 46,000 persons, forming eight senoriats, likewise directed by a superintendent.

This peaceable state of things has, however, its dark side;

* The following numbers, it will be observed, slightly differ from those in the preceding paper.—Ed.

zeal has cooled, and, it must be confessed, formalism has prevailed over true piety. In making this avowal, we must remember that in Transylvania, as well as in other countries, a happy return is taking place towards true religious life. Let us pray the Almighty to grant us grace, as the Evangelical Christians of Transylvania, to walk in the footsteps of our brethren in Jesus Christ, and that we may form a worthy branch of the great Evangelical tree, upon which we invoke, until the consummation of all things, the blessing of the Lord.

SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.

I.

THE RELIGIOUS AWAKENINGS IN SWEDEN.

BY THE REV. C. BERGMAN, WINSLÖFF, CHRISTIANSTADT.

II.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF DENMARK.

BY THE REV. C. H. A. KALKAR, COPENHAGEN.

SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.

THE RELIGIOUS AWAKENINGS IN SWEDEN.

BY THE REV. C. BERGMAN, M.D., D.PH.,
PASTOR OF WINSLOFF, CHRISTIANSTADT.

August 28, *Evening.—Taitbout Chapel.*

[A SPECIAL and painful interest pervaded this meeting, from the thought which pressed on the minds of all present, of the persecutions endured in Sweden by Christians, both in the Established Church and out of it.

Captain BERGER, of Stockholm, who occupied the chair, briefly recapitulated the history of the Church of Sweden. The Reformation was early introduced into that country, but chiefly from political motives, which proved exceedingly hurtful to it. The influence of German pietism and of the faith of the Moravians on the Church of Sweden, in the middle of the eighteenth century, produced the first appearance of real life. The infidelity of the previous century stood opposed to it. Though there have always been in Sweden some few witnesses for the truth, the real religious awakening can be dated only from the commencement of this century. Since then true religion has made uninterrupted progress. This happy result may be attributed, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to various causes. The arrival of an English Wesleyan minister may be mentioned, who preached for several years at Stockholm, without aiming to produce a separation. In 1842 an angry mob broke into his chapel, and he was obliged to leave the country. Again, a Swedish mariner, who, in the course of his voyages, had embraced the doctrine of the Baptists, preached it on his return, and became the founder of a living Church, which has rapidly extended, in spite of the exile by law of its originator. The translation of good books from the English, French, and German, must also be noticed as influential; such as the works of Vinet, Adolphe Monod, J. A. James, Ryle, Krummacher, Barth, Hofacker, &c. It is worthy of re-

mark, that the writings of Luther were only translated into Swedish in 1750, although the State had been Lutheran for two hundred years. They are unknown to the majority of our clergy, though read and appreciated by individuals. The religious periodical press is very active, and exercises a salutary influence. There are no less than eleven religious journals in Sweden, of which the most popular has a larger circulation than the chief political journal. Stockholm can boast of various establishments directed in a Christian spirit. The pure Gospel is preached in several places, especially in what was the Wesleyan Chapel, which was closed, but has been re-opened by some Christians, who bought it, and dedicated it afresh to the service of the Lord. A certain number of young ministers preach the truth, and colporteurs scatter the seed of the Word throughout the country. Pious women help them forward in their work.]

In beginning my report of the religious awakenings in Sweden, I ought to say that I am one of those who advocate religious liberty, and you will find me throughout opposed to all that threatens it.

It would be impossible, in the course of half an hour, to speak in detail of the religious awakenings in Sweden, of the persecutions which have taken place of late years, and the errors which have led some astray. I shall, therefore, confine myself to general observations, presenting a rapid, but I trust characteristic sketch.

First of all, I must say that our Church retains much of the old Romish leaven; not so much as regards doctrine (for we pride ourselves on our strict Lutheranism) as in what relates to the constitution of the Church. We have bishops and an archbishop; yet it seems to me that the King is the chief bishop, for he nominates the professors, who examine and ordain ministers. He also nominates the bishops and a number of pastors; a few are elected by the nobility and people. We still retain tithes and white surplices, and velvet chasubles, with a golden cross, for the clergy; we are called priests by the people and by the laws; and our versions read *priest* for the New Testament word Presbyter (elder). We have long had priests—that is, pastors—who do not preach the Gospel. They are philosophers, Rationalists, Swedenborgians, &c. Several pious laymen have, on this account, been induced, and also a few pastors, to preach

the Gospel in private houses ; and this, above all, has been the means of promoting the great religious awakening in Sweden.*

I may say that our true Christians, our readers (as those who love the Word of God are called) maintain generally the faith of Christ, walking humbly in the fear of God, and submitting in earthly things to their earthly king. They fall sometimes, but, when recovered, exercise greater circumspection ; they grow in faith, love, and hope, throug hthe power of the Divine Word, working by the Holy Spirit. After the Scriptures, they prefer the writings of Luther, and this is characteristic of their faith. They have begun to form themselves into congregations, and continue to do so. Peasants have built chapels capable of containing 500 persons, but they have proved insufficient, for our meetings are often very large ; sometimes we have as many as 2,000 persons. Elders are chosen, and discipline is exercised, at least in Scania ; tract societies have been established, and colporteurs or missionaries have been sent into the interior. "The Evangelical Troubadour of Sweden" is already known to you ; he sings to the accompaniment of his guitar, and also speaks daily in the forests and mountains. But perhaps you do not know that there is another layman in Sweden, whose Gospel words, by means of a "Monthly Leaf," reach 8,000 persons. Learned men tell us the leaves of a tree are its lungs ; well, here is a leaf through which a large portion of the Swedish Church breathes a Christian atmosphere. Congregations are formed, as I have said ; and the need of good colporteurs being increasingly felt, an attempt is being made to establish a training seminary at Stockholm ; at least, it is talked of, and our friends are longing for this outlet to their liberality. One good man, a missionary from India, commenced this work, single-handed, last year.

The religious movement maintains an onward tendency. Even in the universities of Upsal and Lund students have begun to meet for reading, prayer, and serious conversation, and a few *readers* may be found amongst the pastors and nobility.

This, of course, rouses the world to indignation and violence. Shall I tell you an anecdote as a specimen of this? What I refer to occurred this year. In a village near Christianstad, a peasant had invited a few friends to pass the evening with him, and listen to a chapter from the Epistle to the Galatians, with Luther's commentary, read by a student. The doors were closed.

* This passage was not read at the meeting.—FRENCH EDITOR.

Suddenly three police officers knocked loudly at the door; they entered with drawn swords, and declared they came at the demand of their good pastor. (A falsehood probably.) They swore and pushed the women so rudely, that a child present exclaimed, "Are we all going to be killed?" The affair was taken before the law courts; disinterested witnesses were required before the case could be proceeded with; these were produced, and judgment is not yet pronounced. Such is the way in which the *habeas corpus* is respected when *readers* are concerned. But we have a *habeas corpus;* here is an extract:—"The King shall not disturb, nor cause to be disturbed, the peace of any one in his own house." (See our Constitution. *Of the Form of Government,* Sec. 16). In every other case private houses are respected. I must add that no accusation can be received against a *reader,* unless it is attested by the clergyman of the parish, and authorised by the King.

On the occasion of a revival in Dalecarlia, our Government named a commission expressly called "The Commission for Examing and Repressing the Work of the Readers at Orsa." But the work at Orsa has not been repressed; on the contrary, it continually extends. The clergy excommunicated the *readers;* since this event, they have separated from the National Church, elected their own ministers, according to the articles, (See Art. Smalcald. of Luther), and have partaken of the Communion in their own houses. Latterly a great number have become Baptists. Nearly the same thing has taken place in other provinces of Sweden. In one single parish in the North, Bergsjo, 292 persons were condemned in 1851-53 (that is, in the course of three years) to several thousand francs' penalty for having received the Communion in their own houses, and especially for having done so on a Sunday, which is looked on as a profanation of the day. This is the origin of the new *Sacramental law,* proposed at the last Diet and confirmed by the King this year (March 7, 1855). Probably he did it in deference to public opinion and against his own inclination; for in the year 1845, in granting to our Norwegian brethren religious liberty for *Dissenters,* he said that, personally, he approved of that liberty. Are you acquainted with this Sacramental law? I will tell you what it says:—"We, Oscar, &c., decree as follows: Whosoever, not being himself a priest, administers the Sacrament otherwise than legally, and who perseveres in doing so after being admonished, shall

pay a fine of 300 thalers (£8); and all who receive the Sacrament from such a person, if they persist after being admonished, shall each pay 50 thalers (27s.)" If it is impossible for the person fined to pay 300 thalers, the alternative is twenty-eight days' imprisonment on bread and water, exactly the punishment inflicted for certain cases of murder.

It will readily be supposed that these severities produce no good effects. I could tell you much of crimes multiplying and the increase of drunkenness, that bane of our land; but though I hold in my hand statistical evidence of these facts, I will not dwell on the subject, lest I should do more harm than good. But, in truth, these shadows are dark and heavy! Yet all is not dark; the eastern clouds are already tinged, the Sun of Righteousness dawns upon us. We must, however, remember that the rising sun casts long shadows, and expect our bright prospects to have a dark side. Some of our *readers* do not live according to their profession, and grieve the Holy Spirit. Others, with good intentions, are very injudicious. Thus a pious peasant actually contradicted a preacher in church, during the public service, imagining, from some ebullition of Luther's, that he had a right to do so. But, thank God, light conquers darkness. It has begun to do so even in the regions of wintry night, under the polar star. There are bayonets sharper and stronger than those of steel, and these are *rays of true light*. No country can finally resist them; even Russia will prove this. Our spiritual bayonets will conquer, according to the eternal decrees of our God, the Omniscient and Omnipotent. This has been declared by the prophet, who heard heavenly voices, saying, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ." (Rev. xi., 15.)

About twenty years ago, an English Christian came to Stockholm, and preached of sin and grace with such power that torpid consciences were aroused, enmity was created, and he was obliged to fly from the ill-treatment of an irritated populace. This man was a Wesleyan minister, called George Scott. I am happy to tell you that the feeling at Stockholm is now so different, that the chapel built by Mr. Scott, after being long closed, has been purchased, and is now in use for religious meetings. Thus has God, in His own way, avenged the indignities suffered by Mr. Scott.

Yes, the shadows are passing away; the same Diet which

proposed the Sacramental law, promulgated a severe edict against drunkenness; this has been signed by the king, and the whole country has risen, as one man, against this vice, especially in the last two years. Our Schools are perceptibly improving; almost every child of ten years of age can read the New Testament, and is probably learning to write. The sales of the Bible Societies are increasing. We hear of one pastor after another being aroused. And the hundreds of places where religious meetings are held, are they not so many germs of free Churches, which, if they cannot exist within the Establishment, will separate from it?

But to turn to the Evangelical Alliance—can it, can our brotherly meeting to-day, help us in Sweden?

I may safely say that the Alliance has already done so; it has been a blessing to us. Those united prayers offered for us to the King of kings, are not they a blessing? And who can tell what will be the result of the petitions sent to our king and our archbishop? In Sweden itself, the Alliance is precious. How comforting, under persecution, to feel that we are not alone, that we are all one in Christ Jesus, and that when one member suffers all the members suffer with it! Yes, Christian union is true strength; its motive power is making itself felt, even by the kingdoms of the world. We have proof of this, in the presence in our assemblage (if report speaks true) of a deputy from the Swedish Government. But from whence is this strength, this power? From the fact that Christian associations form part of the body of Christ, and it is Christ, the Heavenly King, who acts through them. But how does He so act, and why are these associations sought to be destroyed? I will venture to reply by a comparison. Look at a smith in his forge; when he wishes to extinguish the fire, he scatters the embers, but, to produce a glowing heat, he gathers them together, and breathes upon them, and then even hard and cold iron becomes warm and pliable. Yes, two pieces of obdurate iron may be so softened and united as to form but one piece. Thus Christian meetings, breathed on by the Holy Spirit, have the power of softening hard and cold hearts, and like melting heat, to mould them into one body, one man, the Head of which is Christ. The Evangelical Alliance is already become a power.

A Power! Against whom? Against the old man, against the world, against Satan. Now is the time "to lay plans with the same object in view as a staff officer at the opening of a cam-

paign."* Above all, let us take the whole armour of God, as the Scriptures recommend. (Eph. vi.) Let us remember that our enemy, cowardly enough if held in check, is very bold as a conqueror. Why should we lose courage when we know that the Lord is on our side? Let us resist the Devil, and he will fly from us.

But is there nothing more the Alliance can do for Sweden? Yes. According to our national Constitution, we have perfect religious liberty, yet it is trampled under foot. The 16th paragraph of the Swedish Constitution reads thus: "The King shall not constrain, or permit to be constrained, the conscience of any one; he must insure to each individual the free exercise of religion, provided the general peace is not thereby endangered, or public disturbance created." These are the words of our Constitution of 1809, declared to be binding by the last Diet, which proposed the Sacramental law. After this it would seem that religious persecutions were impossible; unhappily we prove the contrary almost every month. An old law of 1726 against private meetings has been discovered, and made use of. Our bench of judges (who are irremoveable) is generally distinguished for doing justice, but on this one point they do not follow the constitutional law, but a much older one. It seems to me that if this Conference could obtain from distinguished judges of different nations, an open declaration that justice requires in all cases, whether of religious persecution, or otherwise, the application of Constitutional or fundamental laws, not secondary laws, whether old or new, which may contradict the Constitution,† I say it seems to me that such a declaration would have great influence in Sweden in producing just decisions. It is thus, I think, that the Evangelical Alliance may show itself as the *conqueror of the lion.*

* An expression used by Mr. Fisch in a circular.—FRENCH EDITOR.

† [While this volume is passing through the press King Oscar I., in opening the Swedish Diet has expressed himself from his throne in terms which are worthy of an enlightened monarch, and which have greatly rejoiced our friends. We are happy to subjoin them:—"Toleration, founded on individual immoveable conviction, and respect for the religious faith of others, belongs to the essence of the Protestant Church, and ought to obtain among a people whose heroic King, Gustavus Adolphus, by brilliant victories, and the sacrifice of his life, laid the foundation for freedom of thought in central Europe. Those laws, therefore, which hinder religious liberty of worship, ought to be abolished, and general laws be brought into close harmony with the 16th section of the Constitution. A bill to this effect, and for the abolition also of the punishment of Exile, and for the reform of other parts of the Criminal Code, will be laid before you." See *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. x., p. 415.—EDITOR.]

Dr. Krummacher, after the reading of this paper, said he wished, in all humility, to ask a question. "The Church of Sweden, it is said, is firmly based on the doctrines of the Reformation; it has preserved ancient ecclesiastical customs, and a correctness of orthodoxy, which might excite our envy; but this magnificent structure is of ice, an arctic atmosphere reigns within. I often receive letters from Sweden, full of Gospel life, which bear witness to this orthodoxy. 'Our pastors,' they say, 'preach the doctrines of the Confession of Augsburg; but,' they add, 'if we obey our pastors, they persecute us; if we become converted, we are called Pietists. Some few pastors are to us as living springs of comfort, but the majority in effect say—'We preach, but woe to you if you follow what we say!' That is what I hear. Is it true?"

Two Swedes were present at the meeting, sent thither, if public report be true, by the King, or rather by the Archbishop of Upsal, Primate of Sweden.* One of them, Professor Nejdel, replied to Dr. Krummacher, that no one in Sweden had been persecuted for following or preaching the truth.

The Rev. Mr. Lundbergsen, a Swedish clergyman, protested against Dr. Bergman's Report, and sought to excuse the persecutions, denying that the law passed by the Diet contravened the original Constitution.

The Rev. Frederic Monod said:—"It is undeniable that there are at this moment in Sweden many Christians whom you may call fanatics, if you please, but who are nevertheless open to no moral or political charge; they are dragged into prison, condemned to bread and water, suffer from cold and hunger, and sometimes sink under the diseases thus engendered; who are ruined by fines, and whose families are reduced to the last extremity, in consequence of acts purely and simply religious. That is quite enough, and it is not denied by the honourable stranger who undertakes the defence of the persecutors. Then shame on Romish persecution! But threefold shame on Protestant persecution! When the Romish Church persecutes, she is true to her instinct and principles; when the Protestant Church persecutes, she denies herself and the Gospel she professes."

This conscientious protest found ready access to the consciences

* Mr. Holmstraene. It appears he died on the very day of this Meeting.—French Editor.

of the audience, who loudly testified their approval, and their sympathy with the speaker. Mr. Monod, in conclusion, entreated for persecuted Swedish Christians the prayers and assistance of believers in England, France, and other countries; he commended also the persecutors to prayerful remembrance, beseeching God to enlighten them as to their duty, and to bestow spiritual blessings on them, their country, and their King.

Professor Dorner said:—"Sweden is the country of Gustavus Adolphus, who gave religious liberty to Germany. Those were glorious times when this King traversed Germany, singing, with his army, the praises of Him whose Church he had just delivered. The painful differences visible this evening can only be destroyed by prayer. Let us unite in prayer."

The Rev. William Monod remarked, that it was two years since he was called upon to offer up public thanksgivings for the recovery of the King of Sweden from a dangerous sickness. This recovery was an occasion of universal gladness to his subjects, which showed how much he was loved. He could not believe that this Prince would be a persecutor of the disciples of Christ, and those his own subjects. Mr. Monod concluded by offering up prayer on behalf of the King, and of Christians who are persecuted in his country.

Count de St. George, of Geneva, at a subsequent part of the proceedings, called to mind that Gustavus Vasa, whose memory is dear to Sweden, refused, in spite of his councillors, to employ force in the propagation of the truth; and he dwelt on the heavy penalties inflicted on the persecuted, saying:—"It is necessary to do so, for there are not many rich, not many noble, amongst the believers, and these fines ruin them. Such is their poverty, that some even have been reduced to mix sawdust with their bread. Hundreds of Christians are in prison. A young peasant, Maria Pers Dotter, came out of prison, worn out with hunger. It is our duty to identify ourselves with the sufferings of our brethren. Sympathy is of no value without deeds. Remember what is written, 'If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not these things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit?'"

[A deep impression was left by this meeting on the minds of those present: we trust it will bring forth other and blessed fruit. For the present, as we learn by tidings from Sweden of the 3rd October, it has increased the anger of the enemies of the truth. The *Aftonbladt*, the principal political journal in Sweden, publishes a well-written letter from its Paris correspondent, giving an account of this meeting. The papers speak of new persecutions against the Baptists, in the province of Dalecarlia. Officers of police are sent by pastors to take away children and have them baptised by force, and then the poor parents are made to pay the expenses of these violent proceedings. A body of these persecuted people have come to Sweden to see the King. It is, then, evident, that it is not the Government, but the clergy, who are the authors of these iniquitous measures. It is said that the Danish journals are unanimous in their reprobation of the religious persecutions in Sweden.—FRENCH EDITOR.]

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF DENMARK.

BY THE REV. C. H. A. KALKAR,

COPENHAGEN.

Denmark contains 1,400,000 inhabitants. The King of Denmark rules over two millions and a half of subjects. But in speaking of the Kingdom of God, it is not numbers we must consider, but faith. I have been asked for a report on Denmark: I consider the task an honour. The isolated position of our country, separated by two seas from other parts of Europe, keeps it aloof from innovations which are readily accepted elsewhere. Till within the last six years, Denmark had but one recognised Church, the Lutheran, though other denominations might exist under specified conditions. Now, thanks be to God, we have (since June 5, 1849) full religious liberty. The King himself must be a Lutheran, but he alone is under this necessity—the only official Lutheran. All the other Danes are at full liberty to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. The people do not appreciate this precious liberty. The Minister of Worship is simply a political personage, without counsellors. The National Church is not represented by synod or consistory; the King and diet control it; but it has no representative in the Diet. The inconvenience of this is felt, whenever questions arise relating to the Church. The form is episcopal. There are ten bishops and sixty-nine provosts over the clergy. The King nominates bishops and pastors; the Church has no voice in the matter. The clergy are too often looked on merely as officers of the State. The necessity for some ecclesiastical change is increasingly felt. The rejection of Christ has not been so open in Denmark as in other places, but there is little spiritual life. A violent storm was provoked by the proposal to legalise civil marriages; the people thought themselves robbed of the marriage blessing, and petitioned earnestly against the law. It

was, however, passed with regard to Dissenters. A few years ago the people hardly knew what a Romanist was. According to the old law it was death to be a Papist. Now there is a large Roman Catholic church at Copenhagen, and a Scandinavian paper publicly maintains that the cause of Denmark's weakness is her having abandoned Catholicism. Romanism does not make much progress, but Mormonism does, and numbers two thousand converts. Our Government has great difficulty in checking this materialistic sect, whose practice of polygamy places it out of the sphere of European civilisation. An awakening is visible in the Church of Denmark, both amongst clergy and laity. A more living Christianity is appearing amid the upper classes. The majority of theological students are inclined to belief, and appearances, with them, are promising. We have only one university, that of Copenhagen, and four thousand public schools, at which attendance was at one time compulsory, but is now voluntary. A Sunday school gathered last year four hundred children, under the teaching of about twenty young people. I cannot speak in detail of our missions, whether at home or abroad. Perhaps there is no country which, in proportion to its size, gives so largely for the promotion of good works. In 1853, a committee, formed to succour the victims of cholera, received in one month 153,000 crowns. Frederick IV. was the first King of Denmark who turned his attention to his heathen subjects in Greenland, Lapland, and India. Missionary zeal, which slumbered painfully a short time ago, has been wonderfully rekindled. A young man of Frédericia, by name Honoré, descended from French refugees, and full of the Spirit of God, expressed a desire to proclaim the Gospel in New Zealand, where Denmark has a station. He has been liberally upheld in the accomplishment of his design. It may be said of Denmark that the powers of the world to come are in movement, and that the Spirit of God has breathed on the dry bones.

ITALY.

PROSPECTS OF THE GOSPEL IN ITALY.

BY THE REV. DR. MEILLE, TURIN.

ITALY.

PROSPECTS OF THE GOSPEL IN ITALY.

BY THE REV. DR. MEILLE,

PASTOR OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH, TURIN.

A few years ago it would have been an ungrateful task to report on the religious state of Italy, and the only impression produced would have been profound compassion for the gifted people, whose fall is the more vividly marked by these very gifts.

But thanks be to God! The view now to be presented is very different from what it would then have been, and if, in the picture about to be submitted to you, you think the light too sparingly bestowed, still it is quite visible, and the Christian who sees it and knows how "small things" are accepted of God, will even now rejoice and give thanks for the harvest which these first fruits promise.

These cheering lights, however, we hasten to say, are not as yet found in the kingdom of Naples, nor in the States of the Church, nor in the Lombard-Venetian provinces. The friends of the Gospel in England had their hopes excited concerning this last country; but it is now evident that the pretended reforming synod of the north of Italy, of which so much was said, never existed but in the imagination of a scheming priest, who hoped, by means of this report, to obtain a position which he ought to have sought by honest industry.

As to the Roman and Neapolitan States, they are encircled with a hand of iron, and though, perhaps, awakened souls are more numerous there than might be supposed, generally speaking they are hidden ones, known only to God.

The first Italian province on which the eye of the Christian can rest with pleasure is Tuscany. Before the year 1848, and the political reform in the peninsula, of which it was the signal, the Bible had already been widely circulated, and (thanks chiefly

to the humble and gentle influence of a woman whom you all know, and who is eminently entitled to the gratitude of the friends of the Gospel in Italy), it became the object of serious consideration with several eminent men. Amongst these was the Abbé R. Lambruschini, too early greeted (as has since been proved) with the title of the Reformer of the Peninsula, and also Count Pietro Guicciardini, belonging to the ancient family which gave to Italy its greatest historian.

When the present Grand Duke Leopold, yielding to the general impulse, had bestowed a more liberal constitution on his States, the Gospel movement became more manifest, and means were organised for encouraging and developing it. With the aid of the excellent chaplain to the Prussian embassy, Mr. Droin; of Captain (now Vice-Admiral) Pakenham, of the British navy; of Mr. Walker, medical student, and some others, whom it is more prudent not to name, small meetings, where the Gospel was familiarly explained, were held in different parts of Florence; religious books were extensively distributed; and at least three editions of the New Testament were brought out within a few weeks.

But the real work, at least the one which made the most noise, and which is familiar to all here, only commenced with the reaction which followed the fall of the Guerrazzi government and the restoration of the monarchy.

Some have hence inferred that the movement was in truth a political one, though disguised under the name of religion. We think this is incorrect. When masses are drawn towards the Gospel, it is not only possible, but inevitable, that—as in any movement of the masses whatsoever—incongruous elements should find a place. Many causes may have promoted the outward work; such as political disappointments; the persuasion which then pervaded many minds that even partial liberty was incompatible with Catholicism; the hatred indulged against the priests by all classes (except the privileged ones), and of which a part necessarily fell on the doctrines they professed; these causes, we say, may have induced many persons to abandon Rome and turn to the Bible, though perhaps yet unconvinced of sin, and not really seeking the truth which they afterwards found, and thus what has been lightly affirmed of all may be true of some. But there is a wide difference between this fact and the assertion that the movement was entirely political, and we know of no warrant

for such a broad statement. However this may be, and I leave each one to judge for himself, one fact is undoubted, that it was from this time that the Word (*Vangelo*) began to pass from mouth to mouth, and that many souls, awakening as with a start from their long torpor, began in various places, but especially at Florence, to inquire with visible anxiety concerning the truths of salvation.

But this movement needed guidance, lest it should enter on a false track, and the new brethren looked naturally and instinctively to the Church of the Valleys.

Various circumstances rendered that Church attractive, but chiefly because her origin and geographical position entitle her to be considered an Italian Church. Perhaps no people carry to such an extreme as my countrymen do, ardent patriotism and hatred of foreign rule. Italy may be lowered and placed as a nation at the very foot of the social scale, but she cannot forget her past greatness. The remembrance of the supremacy which for centuries she exercised over other nations, is far from being dead within her. Though now forced to acknowledge the superiority of strangers, and even to bow before it, she secretly detests it, and it is an almost insurmountable obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel, that it is yet looked on as a foreign importation.

Another circumstance was in favour of the Vaudois Church. She is not a child of the Reformation, with which, on account of its German origin (let my German brethren here present pardon me the assertion), Italy has little sympathy.

In the third place may be noted the long roll of martyrs which this Church numbers, and the glory which has redounded from her sufferings.

Lately, it was almost impossible to find elsewhere ministers capable of preaching fluently in the Italian tongue.

Through the mercy of God, the Vaudois Church was no longer lethargic as at the period of the Revolution of 1789, when she appeared utterly insensible to her Italian mission. A breath from on high had passed over the dry bones of the Israel of the Alps, and brought back life; the stirring events of 1848 prepared her to act as the advanced guard of the Gospel in Italy, and without loss of time, in the autumn of that same year, four of her ministers were sent into Tuscany to perfect themselves in Italian. Thus, when the delegate of the Florentine Christians

arrived in the valleys, and uttered the cry of the Macedonian, "Come over and help us," not only did his request find ready access to all hearts, but almost immediately the Rev. Mr. Malan, one of the Professors of the College of La Tour, relinquishing his post, and parting with his family, set off, commended by the prayers of the brethren, for Tuscany.

This new labourer had been but a short time at work, when the employment of a second became indispensable. The Vaudois Table hastened to send him a colleague, Mr. Geymonat, who had just completed his studies at the Geneva School of Theology. These two brethren, aided by others, whether Italians or strangers, and especially by Count Guicciardini and the Madiaï (those same Madiaï, who will hereafter be able to give powerful testimony to the sympathies of gospel Christians), were greatly encouraged in their labours. Private meetings became daily more frequent and more numerously attended, the chapel more and more crowded from Sunday to Sunday. Government became alarmed, and warned many of the *precetto*, which forbids attendance at Protestant preachings under penalty of three months' imprisonment. The result of this measure was exactly contrary to what was intended. Public worship being interdicted, private meetings increased so rapidly that one was held every evening, and sometimes even three in an evening. An actively employed press, aided by a judicious system of distribution, by means of which floods of tracts, hardly yet dry, were instantly given to the multitude without the promulgators being discovered, supplied the lack of public teaching; and the gospel, instead of losing ground, daily gained it. But it was not the Christians only who worked with redoubled zeal; the police were equally energetic in their endeavours to trace them, and it would have been wonderful indeed if they had not succeeded. On the 15th of March, our brother Geymonat held a meeting at a house in the quarter of Santa-Maria Novella; about a dozen young men were around him, he was expounding the 11th Chap. of St. Matthew's Gospel, and had just come to the verse, "From the days of John the Baptist, until now, the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force," when the police entered and dissolved the meeting, confiscating the books, and obliging each one present to give his name and address. A week after, the two Vaudois ministers were cited before the police tribunal. Mr.

Malan was ordered to quit the states of the Grand Duke within three days, but Mr. Geymonat was at once given up to the police, who passed him from station to station up to the frontier, fettered like the criminals whose food and lodging he had to share.

This brutal act was only the precursor of even more severe measures which Government had determined to employ; the first was a decree against all religious meetings; the second, the sentence of imprisonment (commuted to exile), against Count Guicciardini and some others, who were surprised, Bible in hand, at a house where accident, more than design, had caused them to meet.

Count Guicciardini belongs, as has been said, to one of the oldest and most illustrious families of Tuscan nobility. In making him the first Italian sufferer, Government evidently intended to show its firm intention to put down, at all costs, Evangelical proselytism. This was soon shown still more decidedly by the imprisonment of the Madiaï, and the monstrous lawsuit which followed. But here, again, the result did not answer the expectation. If, in certain respects, this rigour slackened the rapidity of the movement, it certainly deepened and purified it; besides which, it excited (for a period not far distant), an amount of sympathy and consideration which might otherwise have been wanting. The noble constancy of the Madiaï, their tender anxiety the one for the other; the interest shown for them in all Christian communities in both hemispheres; the deputation of the Evangelical Alliance especially, which gave such striking proof of the true communion of Saints; all these circumstances made a great impression, not only in Tuscany, but wherever in Italy they became known. Some barbarous acts of intolerance have, indeed, again taken place, but the cause which they represent and strive to uphold really loses ground; and I trust it will be seen ere long, to the glory of God, and the confusion of His adversaries, that one of the chief instruments of evangelising Tuscany has been, by his cruelty, the Grand Duke himself.

But perhaps I have said enough of Tuscany. I will, therefore, pass on to Piedmont, the second Italian province, a country which greatly excites the interest and prayers of Christians, both from what it has done, and what is expected from it.

Piedmont has been more faithful to the traditions of the past than any one State in the peninsula; nowhere was the alliance

between the priesthood and royalty so close; nowhere was the opposition to evangelical doctrine so keen and bitter. Evangelical worship was recognised in Tuscany, at Milan, at Naples, and even at Rome; at least, in each of these places there was no obstacle to the celebration of such worship in consecrated places; but at Turin, not many years ago, the Government formally refused permission to the Protestants to meet anywhere for worship except in the residence of an ambassador. There was, indeed, too much cause to believe in the prediction of the patriarch of infidelity, who has somewhere written that the last notes of the mass would be heard in this country.

But where is the obstacle, however formidable, which can check the hand of our God, when He chooses to work? And shall it ever be that one shall lend to the Lord, without receiving an hundredfold? When the set time marked by the Head of the Church for the manifestation of His elect in this country had arrived, not only were the barriers overthrown, but, wonderful and encouraging fact! this work was accomplished through the instrumentality of the most decided adversary of the gospel—a Pope a little less cruel than his predecessor, or, at any rate, more eager for popularity; such was the starting point of the movement, which, in Piedmont, and for a time in other parts of Italy, set aside the will of the ruling despot, and replaced it by settled constitutions. And when the principle of a constitution was once acknowledged, it was impossible, in framing it, altogether to ignore the rights of that fractional portion of the people, who did not profess the national religion. The existence of the Vaudois Church, in Piedmont, was then the means of introducing the elements of religious liberty into our constitution, which was not done anywhere else in Italy, unless Tuscany may be partially excepted. The sacrifices of the founders of this church now bore fruit; the harvest song of the children was heard in the fields where the fathers had sown in tears; and this faithfulness of God gave a deeper impression of responsibility than any words could have done. Thus, as I have already said, at the very dawn of this day of liberty, the Vaudois Church stood forth earnest to fulfil her task. She had already shown her sense of duty in helping forward, by every means in her power, the religious movement in Tuscany. But Piedmont seemed, by its position, to be the vineyard especially allotted to her, and she only waited the command of God to enter and work therein. A suitable

labourer had already been found, and funds were alone wanting to send him forth, when two English brethren, merchants by profession, arrived in the Valleys. These were Mr. A. Brewin, of Tiverton (whom God has just taken to himself), and Mr. Milsom, of Lyons; they had come to Italy on private affairs, but the advancement of the kingdom of Christ occupied a much larger place in their hearts than any personal interests. It was certainly our God who directed their steps, for they were enabled to smooth all difficulties and remove all cause for delay. There was very little in the commencement of this work to create the hopes which were afterwards fulfilled. The Evangelist sent by the Venerable Table to Turin certainly preached every Sunday in Italian; but those who attended the chapel were chiefly Swiss or Vaudois, who would rather have heard a French sermon: if now and then an Italian came, he was rarely seen a second time. Out of the chapel, it was almost impossible to maintain pastoral intercourse, and if this was, with difficulty, secured, rising hopes soon gave way to bitter disappointment. It seemed the most ungrateful soil possible, and the workman who had been sent to break up the ground often looked back to the fruitful land he had left, and in the keenness of his sorrow said to his Master, "Why didst thou take me from a place where work abounded, and put me here, where nothing can be done?" His Master answered him, not by withdrawing him from the past, but by giving him a colleague, as if to show that while unbelief might doubt there being employment for one, God might, if He chose, find work for two, or even many more. Our dear brother, Geymonat, expelled from Tuscany, as we have seen, in the spring of 1851, came by order of the Venerable Table to unite his efforts with those of the despairing evangelist. Instead of one, there were then two to utter their cries and lamentations before God, and for a length of time this was their only consolation. Another was, however, being prepared for them.

Count Guicciardini, with the brethren Betti, Garducci, Magrini, Solaini, and Bossieri, having been obliged, as has been said, to leave Tuscany, came to Turin; the first only meaning to remain a short time, the others intending to make it their home for the period of their exile. It is impossible for those who call themselves children of God, and who suffer for His cause, to meet together without looking into and studying that Word

which contains the title-deeds of their inheritance and the rich sources of present consolation. Thus the Tuscan brethren had hardly arrived and embraced the Turin evangelists before days were fixed for the regular reading of the Word of Life. The first of these meetings, composed of five persons, took place at the end of June, 1851. Four months only passed, when it was found indispensable to hold ten or twelve meetings a week in different parts of the town.

It will readily be supposed that so rapid a work was not altogether without alloy; the evangelists were very sensible of this, and strove as much to purify as to extend the work. The political element, more promptly aroused in Italy than elsewhere, was what troubled them most. The alternative was soon distinct before them, either to unite with a political party, or to renounce the most promising prospects; they did not hesitate to adopt the latter course, persuaded that the Gospel could only bring forth real fruit when understood in its true nature, believing moreover that a small number of individuals, brought to Christ by a desire for pardon and holiness, is a far more satisfactory result than a multitude attracted by other motives.

It was indeed a small number who remained faithful when this point was fully explained. But this apparent want of success had two advantages, both suitably marked. First, the work threw off a quantity of alien elements, which would sooner or later have vitiated, and perhaps destroyed it. Secondly, the Government learned, through their secret agents, who closely watched our movements, that the work undertaken by the Vaudois Church was exclusively religious, having no connection whatever with politics, and from that time the system of spies ceased, and no obstacle was henceforth put in our way.

While these things were taking place, two events were in preparation, which gave a new turn to evangelisation; I allude to the building of a church at Turin, and the publication of an evangelical paper, the *Buona Novella*, which continues to this day. To build a church and establish a periodical are trifling matters in England and America; in France the interest they excite is local and circumscribed; but in Turin it was very different; nothing of the kind had ever taken place there, and no one supposed it possible at that early period of the work. If I had time to give you the history of the priestly opposition we encountered, you would think I was exaggerating. But, through

the grace of God, the only effect it had on us was to give us fresh courage, as it was palpable evidence of the progress religious liberty had made in a few years, I might almost say a few months; Government let any one complain that liked, but Church and journal went on without interruption. From this time the tactics of the enemy changed. The word of command hitherto had been to speak in an undertone, almost in a whisper, of the work they dreaded so much. They laboured secretly to undermine it, dreading publicity; and in one sense they were right. But when the ill success of this line of conduct was apparent, and the Gospel continued to gain ground, they determined to meet the risk of an attack, and sounded the alarm. The first means by which they strove to excite the Government against us was by enormously exaggerating our proceedings. This having failed, the sure and easy method of calumny was tried. Newspapers, pamphlets, pulpit, confessional, all were turned to account in spreading the absurd fable that the Vaudois, who were dying of hunger in their own mountains, had yet gold enough to undertake, on a large scale, the traffic of consciences. These strange tidings excited the indignation of honest but credulous souls; venal men pressed forward to conclude the bargain; unbelievers smiled, seeing nothing impossible in it; and even many true hearts, too susceptible of the opinion of others, kept aloof from us, dreading lest suspicion should attach to them. But all this did not prevent many whose names were written in the Book of Life from frankly and openly joining the ranks of the soldiers of the cross; and before the month of June, 1852, while the building, whose foundation had been laid in October previous, was still advancing, there existed in Turin a true and living Church, composed of members who had renounced the allegiance of the Pope for that of Jesus Christ. Unhappily, just at this time, when bright days seemed in store, the missionary band, already too small, was weakened by the removal of Mr. Geymonat to Genoa. That breath from on high, which bloweth where it listeth, had breathed on this town. The same Captain Pakenham, whom I mentioned in connection with the religious awakening in Tuscany, had, in conjunction with some brethren from that country, commenced a series of meetings, which had attracted considerable attention. The number of attendants continuing to increase, application was made to the Table for a minister; there was a great lack of

labourers, but it was not thought right to resist the repeated entreaties which arrived from Genoa, and Mr. Geymonat was desired to proceed thither, greatly to the detriment of the work at Turin. Still our faithful God only permitted the void because he was preparing means to fill it.

Among the priests who had embraced the Gospel within the last five years, the one who excited most hope, and for whom thanks were justly given to God, was Mr. L. Desanctis, formerly curate of the *Maddalena*, at Rome. His learning and literary labours at Malta, where he had been for nearly three years; his preaching and public lectures at Geneva, whither he went on quitting that island—all proved him to possess, not only address and sound conviction of the truth, but extensive information, facility as a speaker, and more especially as a writer, while the whole was enhanced by a conscientious and upright walk. Mr. Desanctis had hitherto refused to join any particular Church; but just at this time he addressed a request to the Table, to receive ordination in the Vaudois Church.

Such a request, at such a crisis, could only be regarded as a direct interposition of Providence. So it was considered by the Table, who, in reply to Mr. Desanctis, proposed his undertaking for a time the office of assistant to the Turin Evangelist, "which," said the letter, "would have the double advantage of making Mr. Desanctis himself better acquanted with the Church of which he desired to be a minister, and would also enable those who would be called to ordain him to do so in full confidence, after having seen him at work." Mr. Desanctis accepted this appointment, provisionally at first, but unconditionally some months after, when assured that his hopes of the Vaudois Church and mission were well founded. His aid produced, by the blessing of God, a rapid and encouraging development of the work.

At Genoa, also, though to human eye the soil seemed more unfruitful even than at Turin, the necessity for a second worker was soon felt, and the Table, who had opened a chapel until circumstances favoured the building of a church, gladly called to the assistance of Mr. Geymonat, an advocate, Mr. Mazzarella, a native of Calabria, where for several years he had held the office of judge. This young man had fine talents, a fine conscience, and had, during a visit to Turin, passed from withering scepticism to a living faith.

The standard of the Gospel had thus been planted in the two

chief cities of the kingdom; it had also reached another town of less note, Casale, the ancient capital of Montferrat, where the faithfulness of an advocate, Mr. V. Rochietti, and his noble constancy in confessing Christ, when fettered and in the presence of his judges, had drawn a certain number of souls to the true faith. It had reached the most distant point of the kingdom, San Vincenzo del Favale, a valley in the Genoese Apennines, where a whole family—the Cereghini—numbering forty persons, had received the knowledge of the truth, simply through the reading of the Scriptures, and had dared to confess it, even in chains. It had reached San Pietro d'Arena, near Genoa, where a former priest of the diocese, now an evangelist in the service of the Vaudois Church, satisfactorily supplies the need of a considerable congregation escaped from Romanism. It had reached Nice, where this Church maintains a chapel and two evangelists—the one preaching in French, the other in Italian. It had reached Pignerol, the chief town of the diocese in which the valleys are situated; it had reached, and was on the verge of reaching, many other places. A good many excellent religious books had been printed and extensively circulated; amongst others, the *Confession*, of Mr. Desanctis; *Lucile*, by Adolphe Monod; *Man in Relation to the Bible*, by Mr. Boucher; the *Conferences* on Protestantism preached at Geneva; the *Valaisanne* and *True Cross*, of Cæsar Malan; *Regeneration* and *The Cross*, by Ryle. Thousands of copies of the Scriptures had been, more or less publicly, distributed in all parts of the kingdom. A journal, of which the professed objects were to facilitate to doubters the attainment of true faith, and to confirm those who already had it, met with success and blessing. Free-schools for the children of converts had been established in most of the places we have named. The attention of the people was drawn to the Gospel, and prejudices were losing ground. Beside this open work, and moving along with it, was another silent, unnoticed work, which I may call that of preparation, and which is often one of the surest fruits of missionary labour. All was going on, under the blessing of God, in such a manner as to excite the liveliest hopes, when the unhappy dissensions which occurred last year, and of which you have heard too much, brought the whole to the verge of ruin, and gave to Satan as much cause for joy as he had hitherto had for fear and trembling.

But through the exceeding mercy of God, the wound which threatened to be mortal has not proved so—perhaps even in some respects it has done good; the division still exists, and has indeed assumed of late a more decided form, but the belief that there is no real cause for it encourages the hope that it will disappear, when the subsidence of agitation permits minds to view matters more calmly.

Now that I have told you what has been done, let me speak a little of what yet remains to be accomplished, and of the prospects of evangelisation in Italy, whether encouraging or the reverse; the same stroke will give you a rapid sketch of the religious state of that country.

Beginning with the encouraging side, I would notice, first, the openly moral and religious tone of our best writers, both literary and scientific. The re-action which was manifested by first-rate writers in France, against the materialism and scepticism of the last century, has had noble representatives in Italy. In the writings of Manzoni, Pellico, Gioberti, Rosmini, Lambruschini, Tommases, Mamiani, may be found many eloquent pages, containing not only distinct and severe censure of Popish evils, but also earnest appeals for a more spiritual and intelligent religion. The reformers of the sixteenth century could hardly have spoken more to the purpose on many points than our most justly celebrated men have done. And how can we believe that such words from such honourable sources should be without effect on minds so eminently open to impression, and, in spite of the scepticism which preys upon them, so naturally trusting, as my countrymen?

Another encouraging fact is the increasing spirit of liberty and rationality in Italy, which naturally turns the attention of the people to those countries already remarkable for these traits, and most of which are Protestant. The idea that the Papal system is answerable for the many evils which hang over Italy, and that the Gospel has given to England, Scotland, the United States, and other Protestant countries, their prosperous grandeur and an incomparably higher tone of morality, daily gains ground, in spite of the efforts of the Ultramontanes to eradicate it. It is likely rather to increase in force, from the facilities of travel which now permit Italians to go and judge for themselves of the truth of what they have read. Now, when once you begin to admire a certain fruit, the temptation may become

very strong to transplant to your own ground the tree which bears it.

A third fact favourable to the spread of the Gospel is the general dislike of the clergy, amounting in some provinces to positive hatred. If you have heard or read, that were the French and Austrian soldiers withdrawn from the Papal States, the blood of the priests would flow in streams, you must not look on this statement, horrible as it is, as altogether an exaggeration, but rather as approaching to the truth. The writer of these lines has had opportunities of questioning men of different political opinions on this subject, and the answers of those conversant with the state of Italy have always been something like what you have just heard. You cannot imagine the detestation which the clergy have excited by their constant annoyances and their revengeful cruelties; but you may believe that this is the case where the Pope is obliged to submit to the humiliating and unpopular condition of being guarded against his own subjects by foreign legions. In some Italian States, the jealousy rather than the wisdom of the civil power has kept the clergy from the excesses which characterise them in the Papal States, and they have even attained some popularity by persecuting any among themselves who manifested liberal tendencies; in these States, the hatred is less marked, but even there, regard for the priesthood has greatly decreased, and in every class of society ridicule of the clergy is favourably received.

But though we point to these facts, which, with some slight reservations, may be considered encouraging, there are many of a very different tendency, which it will not do to dwell on without the vivid recollection that the Lord reigns, and that He calls things that are not, as though they were, though to human eyes their existence is impossible: for there is hardly one of the propitious circumstances we have named which is not so crowded by evil, as to become almost, if not altogether, unfruitful. Even the writers of whom I have spoken as contributing to create the sense of need as regards a purer religion, who that has studied their works does not feel that they are chiefly men who look on Christianity more with the mind than the heart; that its social effects are of much more importance to them than its laying hold of the conscience, especially of their own individual conscience? And can we expect any real awakening from such tendencies, however respectable in themselves? Experience seems to forbid it.

Amongst the very few who show by their writings a truer apprehension of Christianity, there is not one who has outstepped in any measure the theological boundaries of Rome, to which, indeed, they declare their adherence; this being so, can their influence be so great as might, at first glance, be expected? May we not rather fear that the mixture of truth in their writings will but give currency and weight to the multitude of errors which accompany it?

There are constant censures of the more crying evils of Romanism, and declamation, more or less truthful, against the temporal power of the Pope. But there is nothing in this which has not been found, in every age, in the writings of our first literary men. There has not been a poet, an historian, a philosopher—indeed, a writer of any kind—of whom Italy makes a boast, from Dante to Viccolini, who has not written largely in this vein. But just because the eye has been so constantly directed to the fruit without considering the plant from which it springs, the result of these declamations (as regards true faith) has been almost nothing. And what has been will be; only when the pens of these men are directed, not by keen intellect alone, but by hearts hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and constrained to seek it in the Word of God, can we indulge hopes of satisfactory results.

What I have said of the first fact, which we considered as favourable, is equally applicable to the second, and especially to the third.

Italy aspires to nationality and independence, and this aspiration inclines her to sympathise with those nations which appear to have attained to liberty and prosperity through the Gospel. But if that is a favourable symptom, it is also a dangerous one; the danger is all the greater from being concealed, and is like a hidden rock, on which we may unconsciously run aground. It is well known to those who have any experience of the working of the Gospel, that Christianity loses all power, if we strive to make an instrument of that which is in truth a result, and to turn into a weapon for our own use that which must first be accepted as a yoke for our own necks. This danger exists everywhere, but is especially felt in Italy. There, more than anywhere else, minds have been, by long custom, so brought to consider religion as an instrument to be used in obtaining their ends, that it need not surprise us, if the best of

them are tempted to employ it in the cause of liberty, as others have so long done in the cause of despotism, and great watchfulness and energy will be required, on the part of faithful and experienced labourers, to keep the new movement from this fatal course.

Passing on to what has been said of the hatred and ridicule of the clergy, here indeed we find the good mixed with evil, and almost overcome by it.

And, first of all, can any Christian person rejoice that hatred and ridicule are poured out on a class of persons, whose calling ought to insure them respect? Can any Christian think with complacency of streams of blood ready to flow, involving that of the innocent, which will cry for vengeance before God?

I know from history that builders generally begin by demolishing; I know, too, the irresistible power of ridicule; I know, moreover, that God works among men as often by unwilling as by willing instruments, and that He can, without difficulty, turn all this evil into a means for advancing His kingdom; notwithstanding, I cannot look upon such circumstances as I have indicated as in themselves promising.

Let it, too, be well noted that, as regards many, perhaps the majority of the people, this hatred and ridicule does not enrich the priesthood only. In a country like Italy, where the Bible is about as much known as the revelations of Confucius or Boodh, where the Christian religion is only known by the word of the priest, who makes and manipulates it at his will—in such a country, it is not, generally speaking, Popery, but Christianity, which is hated and ridiculed in the person of the priest. Thus the ground is much better prepared for the growth of infidelity and indifference than for the reception of the Gospel seed.

But even where religious feeling is strong enough to resist these assaults, it must not be believed that the hatred borne by an individual to the priesthood, or the ridicule in which he may indulge, is a pledge that the professed dispenser of heavenly influences has lost all power over him. With us it would be so. The man who had lost our esteem and confidence as a man, would retain no influence as a minister; because, in our conception of the Christian ministry, the man and the minister are identified. But it is different with Romanists, especially in Italy. With them, the man and the priest are perfectly

distinct; and so familiar are they with this—to us inconceivable —separation, that it is no unusual thing, whether in town or country, whether among rich or poor, to hear men and women passing jests on the unedifying life of their priest; and yet they will go, that same day or the next, to this very man, and on bended knees, and with an unhesitating confidence, which amazes me, receive from him the absolution of their sins! Then let it be borne in mind, that the men who, even now, exercise such power are by no means few in number; on the contrary, they form a great army, since Piedmont, the province which possesses the fewest, after Tuscany and Lombardy, has more than 22,000 priests, to a population of 5,000,000. Let it, too, be remembered that the lower orders, and women of all classes, are excessively ignorant, and then, considering the naturally religious disposition of the people, it will be evident that the fall of the priesthood in Italy is not so near as has been anticipated.

But would you wish to know which is at once the most formidable obstacle to the religious movement in Italy, and the foundation of the Pope's security in that country? The reply need not be sought in the close connection of the past history of Italy with Catholicism—a connection which makes it painful to Italians to renounce a religion encircled by such glorious memories; neither must it be sought in the impossibility of an artistic people bending to so unsensuous and unimaginative a worship as ours. These considerations, true in some measure, but singularly exaggerated in importance, would give a partial and superficial solution of the problem. We must go deeper into the subject; and as for me, the more I reflect, the more I am persuaded that this obstacle to the Gospel, on the one hand, and the security of the Papacy, on the other, spring from the profound—I had almost said irremediable—evil inflicted on the people by the Papacy, which has here had more influence than elsewhere.

It would be impossible, in a brief summary like this, to pass in review all the different manifestations of this evil; I shall only point out the principal ones, and leave you to judge by these of the rest.

One immense, incalculable evil has been done to Italy by the withdrawal of the Bible; by consigning it to oblivion, and making the people believe that there is no Christianity but Ro-

manism, no revealed truth but that of which the Pope is at once dispenser and pontiff.

What has been the result of this belief? That a number of persons, especially in the thinking class (and we might safely say in all classes), disgusted with the Christianity of Rome, and knowing no other, have yielded to scepticism, preferring to believe nothing, rather than believe things repugnant to reason and conscience, and regarding rather as a scourge than a blessing, a religion which bore such deplorable fruit.

But this is not all. It was and is by no means safe, in most of the provinces of Italy, to acknowledge oneself an unbeliever, and act as such. The sceptic there kept his own counsel, and his doubts not being brought to light, could not be met—thus, thanks to this system, an unbeliever had no chance of enlightenment, but was kept in increasing darkness.

But the reserve itself of which I have spoken is not always possible. The Italian Catholic must, at certain times and seasons, show himself to the world as such; at Easter, for instance, he must, whether he believes or not, confess and receive the Communion, otherwise he will see his name affixed to the doors of the Church, and probably inscribed in the black books of the police; if dangerously ill, he must, at the risk of being deprived of a decent burial, declare himself an obedient member of the Church, and die under the seal of her Sacraments. In such circumstances, what would be the conduct of one who had renounced Popery from love of the Gospel, and abandoned the Pope because he had become acquainted with Jesus Christ? Whatever the dangers with which he was surrounded, he would frankly declare his belief, he would show to the priest and others, how, with Christ in the heart, a man is independent of his fellow men, he would thank him for his Sacraments, but die giving glory to the Gospel. But not so the unbeliever. Fear, and the entreaties of his family, will make him act against his conscience. He had ridiculed Romanism, he does so still in his heart, but in spite of that, he will perform the part of a devout believer; he will confess, communicate, and die a Catholic. Public opinion will be satisfied, his family will rejoice that a great disgrace has been avoided; the priest, who knows full well the real value of this recantation, will be not only satisfied, but triumphant, and will, in his next sermon, allude to the circumstance as one more proof of the infallibility of the Church, seeing that those who may

slight it in health, eagerly seek its consolations when death is near. Everything has happened properly, and in due time; everything has been cared for—everything—except the conscience, which has been grievously outraged!

The mention of conscience makes me speak of another evil which Italy owes to its religious system, and which is quite as fatal as the last—I mean *the annihilation of conscience.*

The complaint that in Italy, thanks to Romanism, conscience is dead, that the Papacy has replaced the conscience, given by God for good purposes, with an artificial one which leads to evil, is not the complaint of one party, nor of a few individuals, but a general confession, which was elegantly expressed not long since by the ex-President of the Ministerial Council of Sardinia, the Chevalier d'Azeglio, one of the most distinguished writers of Italy.

This fact admitted (and how is it possible to doubt it?) it is not difficult to perceive the consequences. The Gospel appealing powerfully to the conscience, how can it work amid populations where the voice of conscience is hardly recognised, and where by duty, by religion—I was going to say by conscience itself—it is forced to silence in those matters which especially relate to it? How, especially, could it be expected from men so situated, that sacrifices should be made involving an open declaration of faith? If you obtain a hearing, the utmost result you can expect is barren admiration. Your Gospel is declared beautiful; its moral sublimity will enchant your hearers; they will reason admirably on its excellence; you imagine that these people are deeply convinced, and ready, not only to submit themselves to the truth, but to sacrifice all for what charms them so much. You are mistaken; these men have judged according to their intellect, but the heart and conscience are utterly unconcerned, they did not even think these had any concern in the matter. You thought you were dealing with Christians, but they are only artists! How often have I myself gone through this painful experience! How often, under the influence of such scenes, have I not exclaimed, in keen distress—"How is it possible to reach the Papacy, when she has surrounded herself with such a fortress of corpses?"

But these are not the only effects of this death of conscience; and I should be passing over a formidable obstacle to Italian evangelisation, if I omitted to mention, in concluding, the

general spirit of suspicion produced by this death of conscience. How largely this spirit is developed in Italy, and what bitter fruit it has borne, is well known to those who have followed the course of events in that country for the last fifty years. What almost superhuman efforts have been made—what sublime sacrifices have been consummated by individuals of every rank and age, in favour of Italian independence, which have been rendered abortive by this fatal agent! The same spirit, which has done so much harm in political matters, is necessarily felt in religion. What has lately passed at Turin, at Genoa, and elsewhere, and what you are obliged, in spite of yourself, to see and hear whenever a certain number of Italians are gathered together, is a sad pledge of the difficulties the Gospel meets with in this direction, and of the trouble and distress which will assuredly be the portion of every one who seeks to spread it in this country.

The picture I have just sketched, and the facts I have named, are not attractive, and may perhaps weaken the interest which has been felt for Italy. If so, I shall regret it, though I could not act otherwise. I was asked for the truth; I have given it, as far as I know it, as far as my own experience and observation of some years teach me. Oh no; this is certainly not an easy work; on the contrary, it is one of the most difficult that can be undertaken, the field is assuredly not encouraging.

But is that a reason for dismay or despair? Yes; if our work is the work of men, undertaken in a worldly spirit; no, if the work is the work of God, undertaken in His name and His strength. Many things, it is true, are against us. Many considerations murmur, "You work for naught," but are we to listen to these sounds when we have the distinct command of our Master to go forward? Are we to calculate successes? Are they not in the hands of Him who willed the work? And can He not so control circumstances as to produce an abundant harvest where we see only thorns?

What do I say? Has He not already done so? What has been accomplished in Italy in the last four years, does it not surpass all that we could have expected?

And when the angel of God opens before us, in an unexpected and remarkable manner, doors which we thought firmly closed, shall we draw back discouraged, because we see in the distance other doors which seem even more securely barred? No,

brethren! It must not be so. This is the time for more earnest and unceasing prayer. You are ready to offer supplications for the whole world. It is to express this sublime feeling of love that we are here met together. Oh, let it be shown, I entreat you, in a special manner, towards Italy. Few countries need it so much; and if it be true that amongst persons reduced to poverty those are most worthy of pity who have known better days, I may add that no country has a higher claim; for what European country ever attained to the grandeur and glory which once distinguished Italy?

[After the foregoing paper had been read the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Dr. De Sanctis, pastor of a Free Church in Turin, who was formerly a priest in the Romish Church, and also a Professor of Theology and a member of the Inquisition of Rome. At the conclusion of his address he laid upon the table the Confession of Faith adopted by the Church in Turin, of which he is Pastor. This document will be found in *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. x., p. 98.

The Rev. M. Vallette, charged to express the sympathy of the assembly to the two Italian brethren, addressed them in that language, and exhorted them to labour in harmony for the spiritual regeneration of their country. "Italy," said he, "is to-day put in possession of her right of citizenship in the Evangelical Alliance. As a former pastor of Naples I also am an Italian, and we three represent one the north, another the centre, and the third the south of Italy. Of the three I am the oldest, and I am able to tell that before the present religious awakening the Lord had conducted into that country both men and books to prepare the way for His kingdom." He then proceeded to mention a few facts illustrative of this statement, and concluded by expressing his opinion that an earthquake was necessary to overturn the Papal system, and his wish that the Lord would send such an earthquake, not in anger, but in love to Italy.]

TURKEY AND GREECE.

ON THE STATE OF THE NATIVE RELIGIONS AND THE OPERATION OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. H. O. DWIGHT, D.D.

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Drawn up and presented by the Authority of the Constantinople Branch of the Evangelical Alliance.

1. State of Religion.

There is a great deal of religion in Turkey, and it is of several different kinds. There is the Mohammedan religion, and the Greek religion, and the Armenian religion, and the Catholic, Nestorian, and Jacobite religion. There are the Copts, the Jews, and last of all, the Protestants. There are also many minor sects, which I have not here enumerated.

Although, for the most part, these different classes of religionists are exceedingly hostile to each other, yet the greater part of them are in reality much more nearly alike than they suppose; just as, on the other hand, true Evangelical Christians of different names oftentimes really resemble each other far more than they themselves are willing to allow. Our object in this report, however, is not to describe the characteristics of the different sects, but rather to present a view of the present state of religion among them.

Beginning with the dominant party, the Mohammedans, who, if we take the whole Turkish empire into account, may compose, perhaps, two-thirds of the entire population, we find their religious system giving many signs of age and decrepitude. Nothing can be more evident than that, at the capital, and in many of the chief cities of Turkey, the religion of the Koran has already lost much of its hold upon the minds of its followers. The law of the state, which is still in full force, requiring that all apostates from among the native Mohammedans shall be put to death,* prevents, effectually, the open

* We speak advisedly; for even since the fleets of France and England came into these waters to assist Turkey against Russia, a Mohammedan has been

renunciation of Mohammedanism; but, at the same time, it is well known and understood by themselves that there are at present multitudes of freethinking Turks, who, while they outwardly profess to be Mussulmans, really care no more for the Koran than they do for so much waste paper. There is a growing neglect of their fasts and of their daily prayers, which even foreigners perceive, and which the devout Turks themselves openly acknowledge and deplore. Among the chief causes of this state of things may be mentioned the following: 1. The contact with European civilisation has opened the eyes of many to the fact that the Koran is opposed to progress; 2. Many young Mussulmans have been educated in different parts of Europe and in England, and have brought back with them a very free and loose religious sentiment; and 3. Infidel literature, particularly in the French language, has been eagerly devoured by many young Turks, who have made the French a study, and no law interferes with the efforts of such to spread their sentiments. So long as a man utters with his lips the confession of faith of *Islam*, namely, "*There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the true prophet of God*," they seem to care little what else he believes or disbelieves.

Some, in every part of the country, appear to be at this moment sincere inquirers after the truth. *Twenty years* ago, and even *ten years* ago, it is believed that the case could hardly be found in the whole country, where a sincere Turk would condescend to discuss with a Christian the comparative claims of the two religions; and if a Christian subject of Turkey had dared to introduce such a question, he would have been frowned upon and severely punished. Now, such discussions are of every day occurrence; and although the number of Turks is limited who engage in them, yet they are found in different

beheaded for embracing the Christian religion! This execution took place at Adrianople, and the fact is attested by many witnesses, some of whom are personally known to members of this Alliance, besides having been officially communicated by one of the European Consuls, resident at Adrianople, to his Minister at the Porte, who also added, that several other Mohammedans in the place were on the point of embracing Christianity, but that this execution had deterred them. It has been erroneously supposed that the assurance given on this subject by the Sultan, in 1844, to Sir Stratford Canning (now Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) did virtually abrogate this barbarous law; whereas, that assurance referred only to the case of Christians who, after they had embraced Mohammedanism, should return again to their former faith.

and distant parts of the empire. The great mass, however, of the common people are still bigotted and arrogant, though even these show, by unmistakeable signs, that Mohammedanism is in its decrepitude.

The state of religion among the Greeks of Turkey, so far as the body of the people is concerned, cannot be said to have much changed, even in this changing age. Aside from some very few localities, of quite limited extent, where missionary labour has been performed (of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter), there seems to have been no marked religious movement among the Greeks. The priests have still almost unbounded power over the people, who, in the fullest confidence that their Church is the only true and apostolic Church, despise and reject Christians of all other names. The Greeks are wedded to their idols and to their superstitions. They know no other religion than that of forms, of penances, and of sacraments. Satisfied, that whatever is lacking on their part in the way of personal effort and "voluntary humility," can easily be made up by the performances of the priests, the common people seem to live in a state of the profoundest spiritual indifference. None asks, "What have *I* done?" but every one "turneth to his course, as the horse rusheth into battle." (Jer. viii. 6.) Among the better educated classes, both in Turkey and Greece, a spirit of infidelity has, it is believed, become extensively infused, although, strange to say, in many cases at least, this does not seem in the least to diminish their zeal for "Mother Church," nor the bitterness of their hostility towards all who would introduce salutary religious reforms. The pride of ancestry, which is so characteristic of the modern Greek, and the firm persuasion that the introduction among them of a new Church organisation would tend to mar the glory of their national unity, no doubt have much to do in deciding such characters to adopt a course so self-contradictory.

The Greek clergy, as a class—so far, at least, as Turkey is concerned—are far enough from possessing those characteristics which the Apostle Paul enumerated as essential to the shepherds and bishops of Christ's flock. The parochial priests are ignorant and degraded in the extreme, while the higher clergy are too generally haughty, overbearing, avaricious, and unprincipled. The clergy of Greece Proper have been supposed by some to possess a better character. Whether the difference is radical,

or merely circumstantial, the writer of this report will not undertake to say.

Of all the so-called Christian communities in Turkey, the Armenians at the present moment are in the most interesting and promising religious state. Religious earnestness seems to be with them almost a national characteristic, and there is abundant evidence that the special influences of the Spirit of God are extensively diffused among them.

The Armenians are found in great numbers at the capital of the Turkish Empire, and in all the principal towns throughout the interior, especially of Asiatic Turkey; and in many large districts they are the chief and almost the only inhabitants. Now, it is the testimony of all Christian travellers who have visited those regions, that a spirit of inquiry on religious subjects extensively prevails; and multitudes of the people themselves are earnestly asking that preachers may be sent to them, to explain to them the Word of Life. One of the native Armenian Protestant pastors, on returning from a very extensive tour through the whole of ancient Armenia, said, "I am not aware that I have visited a single place where Armenians are found, where there is not either an actual awaking or a preparation of mind for the reception of the truth."

Nothing is more common among the Armenians than a calm and free discussion of the great topics of Christian faith. In many places those who still remain in connexion with the Armenian Church come together, either statedly or occasionally, for this express purpose; and the Word of God is brought forward and examined, Scripture being compared with Scripture, with a serious and earnest spirit and an evident desire to know only the truth.

In a very few cases, discussions have taken place in the presence of the bishop of the diocese, who, against his own choice, was constrained by his people to invite some of the Protestants to be present. In one of these instances, the ecclesiastic frankly acknowledged his inability to support the doctrines of his Church from the Bible; and this only tended to confirm the already half-persuaded minds of many of his own people, that Protestantism is true.

It is painful, however, to record that, for the most part, the Armenian clergy, and especially the higher orders, set themselves against the work of God in this land, and too often have

they, directly or indirectly, endeavoured, by persecution, to restrain their people from religious inquiry and from following where the Word of God plainly leads. Happily, by the blessing of God on the generous and persevering efforts of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, liberty of conscience has been secured to the native Protestants of Turkey by Imperial firmans; though in the remote districts, and occasionally in the nearer ones, even now, persecutions do sometimes occur, and they can almost always be traced to the secret instigations, if not to the open attacks, of inimical ecclesiastics. For the most part, as in the Apostolic days, *the common people hear the Word gladly.*

As to the state of religion among the other sects of Turkey, it is not necessary to enter particularly into the subject in this part of the report. Among none of them do we see any such *national* religious movement as among the Armenians, though, as will be seen, in several of them is there the beginning of a good work, and missionary efforts have been crowned with a very encouraging degree of success.

Let us now take a brief survey.

2. Of the various Evangelical Influences that are at work in these Lands.

These are many and various, and increasing in number and strength every year, even in geometrical ratio. The societies that are now taking part in this work are the following:—In Britain—The British and Foreign Bible Society; the Church Missionary Society; the London Jews Society; the London Religious Tract Society; the Christian Knowledge Society; the Free Church of Scotland; the Irish Presbyterian Church; and latterly, the Western Asia Missions Aid Society. In America—The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; the American Bible Society; the American Tract Society; the American Baptist Union; the American Episcopal Board of Missions; and the American Associate Reformed Presbyterian Board.

In addition to these societies and boards of missions operating in the Turkish empire and in Greece, must be mentioned under this head, the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem and his staff; the British and other Protestant chaplains found in several of the seaports; and the native Protestant agency that has been growing up in the country during the past few years, including pastors, licensed preachers, colporteurs and teachers. Indi-

vidual labourers, not coming under any of the above heads, will be noticed in their proper place.

Let us now briefly glance at what these different agencies are doing, or attempting to do, in these lands. The oldest in this field is believed to be the British and Foreign Bible Society; and to what society in this world would we sooner ascribe this honour; and to what society does the precedence, in such a work, more appropriately belong, than to that one whose proud office it is to put men in possession of the PURE WORD OF GOD without note or comment?

By the persevering labours of this society, there are now in circulation the following translations of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, designed, as will be seen, for the different races inhabiting this country and Greece. We have, first, the entire Bible in the Turkish language, Arabic character; in the Turkish language, with the Greek character; in the Ancient Greek; in the Modern Greek; in the Moldavian; in the Ancient Armenian; in the Hebrew; in the Arabic; in the Syriac and Carshun, in parallel columns.

Then we have the New Testament in the Turkish, with Arabic character; in the Turkish, with Greek character; in the Turkish, with Armenian character; in the Ancient Greek; in the Modern Greek; in the Ancient Armenian; in the Modern Armenian; in the Ancient and Modern Armenian, in parallel columns; in the Ancient Armenian and Ararat dialect, in parallel columns; in the Albanian and Modern Greek, in parallel columns; in the Moldavian; in the Servian; in the Bulgarian, and in the Arabic, with Syriac character.

And, besides these, we have the Psalms in the Bulgarian, and in Ancient Armenian; the four Gospels in Arabic, with Hebrew character, and also in the Syriac, with the Nestorian character. Of most of these, several editions have been printed, and several are now in the press.

In close connection should be mentioned the agency of the American Bible Society, by whose funds editions of the Modern Greek New Testament have been printed, and also of the Hebrew-Spanish Old Testament, of the Modern Armenian Old and New Testament, and of the Armeno-Turkish Old and New Testament.

To put these various editions of the Scriptures into circulation, special agents have been employed in some instances, and in

others, the Missionaries of the different societies and their colporteurs have been the instruments. Depots of Bibles, and New Testaments, are to be found in almost all the principal towns, and in many of the villages throughout the Turkish Empire, and the same is believed to be true, to a certain extent, in Greece.

In Constantinople, the change in the situation of the Bible Depot is well worthy of a passing remark. Twenty-five years ago, it was in an obscure part of the suburbs of Galata, in a small room, in the second story of an old, dingy building, called a Khan, with no external mark or sign by which the place could be found, and the room was opened only once a-week for the sale of books! Now, it is situated in the heart of Constantinople itself, on the most public business street in the City, occupying three commodious rooms, the sale-room being directly upon the street, and having for a sign a large book, upon which the word *book store* is written in six different languages! It should also here be recorded, that the necessities of the times have led, quite recently, to the opening of another book store on the main street of Pera, in which the Bible, in all languages here used, is also sold, as well as other religious books, in the most public manner. This new establishment is hailed as both the sign and the harbinger of progress. Benjamin Barker, Esq. (formerly of Smyrna), whose indefatigable labours as agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Turkey, have been continued now for more than thirty years, resides at present at Constantinople, and the Rev. Mr. Righter is also here as agent of the American Bible Society.

In the book department, the labours of the American Tract Society, in Turkey, deserve next to be mentioned. By the aid of its funds, the Missionaries have been enabled to bring out a great variety of excellent books and tracts in the different languages of the East. Most of these are translations from standard English and American works, but many have been written expressly for the people for whose good they were intended. The following well-known books and tracts are mentioned as a very small part of what this society has published, or is now publishing, in Turkey and Greece: Baxter's Saint's Rest, Pilgrim's Progress, Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, Flavel on Keeping the Heart, D'Aubigne's Reformation (abridged), Abbot's Young Christian, Whateley's Evidences of

Christianity, Bogue's Essays, Life of Zwingle, Barth's Church History, Neff's Dialogues, Dairyman's Daughter, Serious Inquiry, Assembly's Catechism, Progress of Sin, Mother at Home, Mary Lathrop, Sin no Trifle, &c., &c.

Recently, the London Religious Tract Society has taken part in this same good work.

The Christian Knowledge Society has applied a portion of its funds to publishing translations of the Book of Common Prayer of the English Church in several of the languages of this part of the world, and also the publication of a few other books.

In the same connection it should be stated, that each of the Missionary Societies employing agents in this field, devotes more or less of its funds, every year, to the department of the press, bringing out, usually, such books in the native languages as could not consistently be published by either the Bible or Tract Societies.

It would be interesting to know the aggregate amount of what has been done by all these Societies together, to supply the different races in these lands with a pure Christian literature. The writer of this report, however, has not access to the data necessary for such a statement. He can only record what has been done in this department, under the superintendence of the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Included in the sums total that follow, however, is all the work for the Bible and Tract Societies, which has been performed at the press of the American Board. The whole number of pages printed from the beginning is 126,702,460. The number of pages printed during the past year under the same superintendence is 4,922,400. The languages in which this printing has been done are, the Armenian (Ancient and Modern), the Armeno-Turkish, the Greek, the Greco-Turkish, the Hebrew, Spanish, and the Bulgarian.

Two periodicals are issued from the same press, one a religious newspaper in the modern Armenian language, and the other a monthly magazine in the Hebrew-Spanish. So far as is known to the writer, these are the only Protestant periodicals published in Turkey or in Greece.

Before dismissing this topic, it should be remarked, that the dissemination of Bibles and tracts in Turkey has been found to be a measure of the greatest utility, in a Missionary point of view; and there cannot be a doubt, that in numberless places in

the interior, the minds of men have been awakened, and they have been led to a saving acquaintance with the truths of the Gospel through the agency of books alone, and long before the voice of a living preacher was heard. And at no previous period were the different publications of the Missionary presses so much sought for, or so widely diffused, as at the present moment. From the Bible and General Book depot in Constantinople, boxes of books are weekly being packed up and despatched into the interior, and so many are now the orders, that it is almost impossible to meet the demand. It is an interesting feature that the Turks themselves are beginning to come openly to purchase the Scriptures in their own language, not only at the capital, but also in different parts of the Empire.

Let us now proceed with our survey of the Evangelical influences at present at work in these lands. And we cannot, perhaps, obtain a better view of what the different Societies are doing, than by going the tour of Turkey and Greece.

Let us, then, take our departure from Constantinople, and proceed nearly due East. At the distance of between fifty and sixty miles we come to Nicomedia, an ancient town, once the seat of royalty, for here Diocletian held his Court, and here was the first bloody act in that direful persecution of the Christians, which so disgraced his reign. Here we find a Protestant Armenian congregation, with a commodious house of worship, and (until quite recently) a native pastor, and between forty and fifty communicants. This is one of the out-stations of the American Mission in Constantinople, and the religious movement began here *twenty-three* years ago, through means of a single copy of the little tract called the "Dairyman's Daughter," dropped by a passing Missionary!

Twenty-seven miles farther East we come to Adabazar, another out-station of the same Society. Here is a small but flourishing Protestant Church, under the care of a well educated and devoted native pastor, and extending its influence to the villages around.

Seventy miles south-west of Adabazar lies Broosa, the first capital of the Ottoman dynasty, beautifully situated at the foot of the Bethynian Olympus. Here also is another Protestant Church and pastor, in connection with the American mission. A model pastor, he may be called, having a model flock, if such language can be used of mortal men. Sorely has this little flock been tried, however, and the Lord is still keeping them in

the furnace. Their place of worship was last year consumed by fire; and after they had succeeded in erecting the walls of a new one, of more incombustible materials, and the roof was completed, a terrible earthquake came, and rendered it wholly unuseable; and just as they were beginning to re-construct the part of it that was injured, another dreadful shock completely ruined the whole building, and now the pastor and the flock are scattered! *

It is impossible to describe the distress that now prevails in Broosa. The city has become almost uninhabitable, being little else than a heap of ruins, and tens of thousands of people are reduced to the greatest misery! Are not these the vials of God's wrath poured out upon the beast and the false prophet? With the conquest of Broosa by the Turks, near the beginning of the fourteenth century, dates the foundation of the Ottoman empire. For more than five hundred years, the remains of the first sultans of the present dynasty have quietly reposed on the brow of a precipice, which formed the ancient citadel in the midst of the town; and often has curiosity led the modern traveller from Europe and America to visit this venerated spot. Now, by the fiat of the Almighty, the foundations of Olympus have been shaken; the tombs of the early sultans have been rent asunder; and the memorials of Othman's glory, with a portion of the rock upon which they stood, have been precipitated—a confused mass of rubbish—upon the houses and streets beneath! Surely the hand of God is in this thing, and the intelligent Christian believer, who can "discern the signs of the times," can be at no loss to decide to what the omen points.

But let us go on with our missionary tour. Within about six miles from Broosa is the Greek village of Demirdesh, where, for a few years past, there have been evident signs of the working of the Holy Spirit, and a small congregation of Protestant Greeks has been gathered. They are, at present, suffering sore persecution, through the hands of the Greek ecclesiastics.

Directly east of Broosa, in the heart of Asia Minor, at the distance of nearly four hundred miles, is the town of Tocat, rendered famous for the death of Henry Martyn. Here are two

* This building was erected chiefly by means of a loan obtained by the missionaries; though the people themselves, in their deep poverty, raised a portion of the funds, and benevolent individuals in Constantinople and in England contributed a portion. A heavy debt, however, remains.

missionaries of the American Board, with their families, having a very promising congregation of Armenians, and a regularly organised Church. About sixty miles north-west of Tocat is Marsovan, another station of the same Board, having one missionary, with a family, and a native Protestant Church. Forty miles south-east of Tocat stands the town of Sivas, where, for some years past, there has been a small Protestant Church and a native preacher; and it is expected that, during the present summer, it will be occupied by two missionaries of the American Board.

More than two hundred miles, in an easterly direction, from Tocat, we find another station of the same society, at Erzeroum, having two missionaries, with their families, and a native Church. About forty miles south-east of this place is Khoonoos, an out-station, having an interesting congregation, and a very excellent native pastor.

Two hundred miles north-west from Erzeroum, on the shores of the Black Sea, stands Trebizond, which has long been a station of the American Mission, and is at present supplied with one married missionary. Here, also, is a native Protestant Church.

Let us now once more take our departure from Tocat, in a southerly direction. If we proceed south-east, about 120 miles, we come to the town of Arabkir, the centre of a most deeply interesting Armenian population, full of earnestness in seeking after the truth, where are stationed two American missionaries, with their families, and where a native Church has been organised. There is an out-station at Mashkir, where, also, an evangelical Church has recently been formed.

Thirty or forty miles south-east from this is Kharpoot, containing a large number of Armenians, many of whom are earnestly longing to hear the Gospel preached to them. One of the missionaries at Arabkir expects to remove there during the present summer.

One hundred miles south-west from Tocat, is the ancient town of Cæsarea, where two married missionaries of the American Board reside, and there is a very encouraging attention to the Word preached. A Protestant Church has been organised here during the past year.

Let us now proceed a hundred miles further, in a south-easterly direction from Cæsarea, and we come to Marash, with a

large Armenian population, rude and untutored, and proverbially bigoted and ferocious. So determined were they that the Gospel should have no access among them, that eleven times they perseveringly drove away the native Protestant preachers that entered the town—sometimes beating them severely, and threatening their lives. With no less determination, however, did our brethren persevere in the attempt to introduce the Gospel there; and, at the *twelfth* time, they succeeded! The Turkish authorities of the place declared that, so long as the Protestants committed no civil offence, they should not be molested. For some time past, the Gospel has been regularly preached, to most attentive audiences, that are constantly increasing in numbers, and a native Church has been formed. Two missionaries of the American Board, with their families, are expecting to take up their abode there during the present season.

Forty miles south-easterly from Marash is Aintab, where is to be found the largest Protestant congregation in the country. Here are three American missionaries stationed, two of them with families, and an average Sabbath congregation of eight or nine hundred souls. A commodious house of worship, solidly built of stone, has lately been completed, and from twelve to thirteen hundred people were present at its dedication. Aintab, so important in itself, is also the centre of a large circle of Protestant influences. Among its out-stations are Kessab and Killis, in each of which Churches have been organised, and native preachers are located, who have very encouraging Sabbath congregations.

If we now take a direction a little north of westerly, at the distance of about five hundred miles, we shall come to Smyrna, where we find another station of the American Board among the Armenians, with a regular congregation and a Church; and also a mission to the Jews, from the same society, with a day-school, and a small but highly promising boarding-school for Jewish boys.

At *Akhissar*, the ancient Thyatira, the seat of one of the Seven Churches, about one and a half day's ride in the interior, a new spiritual Church has been gathered, chiefly from among the Greeks, and we are encouraged in the hope that the light thus re-kindled may shine through all the region round.

Let us now step on board a steamer in Smyrna harbour, and, in making our way to Constantinople, touch at the important

town of Rodosto, on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora. Here we shall find a native pastor, with a well-educated and devoted wife, in the midst of a small but zealous flock, who, by the blessing of God, are daily extending their influence more and more on those around; one proof of which is, that Satan, who sees that "his time is short," has lately "come down there in great wrath," and is stirring up the enemy to persecute the children of God.

By continuing our voyage, about seventy miles further to the east, we shall arrive again at Constantinople, our starting point, and thus we shall have completed the circuit of the American mission *to the Armenians.*

In the capital itself, there are three distinct native Protestant Churches, four regular congregations of Armenian Protestants, and one of Greeks, on every Sabbath, in different parts of the city, and six resident missionaries of the American Board, besides three native preachers. One of the missionaries is devoted to the Jews, and, in the course of his labours, he has translated the whole Old Testament from the Hebrew to the Jewish dialect of the Spanish—an invaluable boon to all of the Jewish subjects of the Porte—which, happily, is being well received, and extensively circulated. He has also prepared a Hebrew Lexicon, for the use of this class of Spanish Jews, and several other valuable works.

At Bebek, on the Bosphorus, there is a boarding seminary for boys and young men, with a special reference to the education of suitable candidates for the ministry (chiefly of the Armenian race), and another boarding seminary for young women—both of them institutions of a high literary character, and exerting also a strong religious influence in the country. Many of the pupils in both these institutions are from the interior of Turkey.

It should also here be stated that throughout the country, wherever there is a missionary or Protestant community, however small, there is always a school for children, and in these Protestant schools are usually found more or less from Armenian families. There is also provision made for adult instruction, with the constant aim in view of leaving no individual, male or female, in the Protestant community, unable to read for himself the Word of God.

At Aintab, and also at Tocat, there are regular theological

classes, in which several young men, of piety and talents, are in a course of training for the ministry.

The whole number of Evangelical churches organized, within the bounds of the Armenian Mission, is *twenty-two*, having an aggregate of about 500 communicants. In about eighty towns and villages in the Ottoman Empire are native Protestants known to be found.

Great care is taken in admitting members to the Communion, and none are received who do not appear to be truly converted men. The whole number of natives whose names are actually enrolled in connexion with the different congregations of Protestants in Turkey is not much short of 3,000*, who all, before the Government, are reckoned as belonging to the Protestant civil community, and who attend the Protestant services, though, as just stated, only about 500 of them are yet admitted as communicants.

Diarbekir and Mosul—both large and important towns, situated on the Tigris—have been purposely left out of this enumeration, because they belong to the *Assyrian* Mission of the American Board, and not to the *Armenian*.

There are at present two missionaries located at each of these places, and also a Church has been organized in each. The ordinary Sabbath congregation at Diarbekir, composed partly of Armenians and partly of Jacobites, averages not much under 200 souls. Two out-stations—one at Haine, and the other at Kuturbul—are in a very promising state. In numerous other villages around, the people are in an attitude for hearing; but, alas! preachers are few.

In Mosul, the Sabbath congregation is smaller, but a very decided impression has been made in favour of the Evangelical system. Multitudes not connected with the Protestants feel the influence of the truth. Five years ago, crowds frequented the cemeteries on feast-days, to purchase the prayers of the priests for their dead; whilst now only a solitary female is here and there seen.

Thessalonica, on a gulf of the same name, was also passed by, although it is a station of the American Board. A single mis-

* There are several thousands more, whose minds are fully convinced of the truth of the Protestant system, who still remain connected with the Armenian Church. They are generally men in whom the religious sentiment is not yet strong enough to lead them to expose themselves to obloquy and persecution for the Gospel's sake.

sionary resides there with his family, for the present, and his labours are confined to the Jewish population of the city. A fellow-labourer, who, some time ago, returned to America on account of ill-health, is expected to resume his post during the present season. The station is one of importance and promise.

For the sake of giving a connected view, we will now glance at the American Mission in Syria.

This Mission has seven stations—namely, at Beiroot, Abeih, Tripoli, Aleppo, Sidon, Hasbeiya, and Bhamdoon; and there are also seven out-stations, occupied by native assistants. Connected with these seven stations are *fourteen* missionaries from America, all except one being married men; twelve of them are ordained, one is a physician, and one a printer.

The station at Hasbeiya is occupied by a well-educated native pastor.

The people among whom this mission is established are of the Arab race, and their language is the Arabic tongue. They are divided into various religious sects, the principal of which are the Mohammedans, the Druses, the Maronites, and the Greeks.

In 1851 there was only one native Evangelical Church, namely, at Beiroot. Since then three others have been formed, namely, at Hasbeiya, Abeih, and Aleppo. These four churches contain an aggregate of seventy-four members, who are converts from the Greek Church, the Maronite, the Papal-Greek, and the Druses.

A considerable number of persons whose minds are convinced of the truth of Protestantism, attend regularly the preaching of the missionaries, although they are not members of the Church.

Twenty-three schools are maintained by the Mission, containing in all about six hundred pupils. Four of these schools are exclusively for girls, and are taught by native females educated by the Mission.

At Abeih there is a seminary for boys and young men, containing about twenty pupils, who are being trained to fill the offices of teacher and preacher. There is also a female boarding-school with fifteen pupils.

In the department of the press, about fifty different works have been put into circulation in the Arabic language; *thirteen* of which are tracts; *seven* are elementary, scientific works, and the remaining *thirty* are books on religion—practical, historical, and controversial. Dr. Smith is now engaged in making an

entirely new translation of the whole Bible into the Arabic language.

The principal seat of this Mission is the region of Mount Lebanon, together with the towns and villages adjacent to it. A large number of people, who have not yet separated themselves from their former corrupt churches, and who do not even attend publicly the preaching of the missionaries, have become thoroughly enlightened as to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and they do not hesitate to promulgate their views publicly, and to assert, and stedfastly maintain, their right to read for themselves the Word of God in the spoken dialect. There has been, in short, a very extensive working up of minds long dormant, and a general movement towards evangelical sentiments. Several entire villages have openly declared themselves Protestants.

The whole number of male missionaries from America at present connected with the different Missions in the Turkish Empire, is *forty-five;* and the number of females from America is *forty-six,* most of them being the wives of missionaries, but several of them teachers of schools; making a sum total of *ninety-one* labourers from America, in this whole missionary field.

To these must be added *eight* ordained native preachers and *seven* licensed preachers, unordained; and about *sixty* colporteurs and teachers.

It is the aim of the American missionaries to organize in each place a native Church, as soon as there are proper materials for it, though the number be small, and to ordain over each Church a native pastor as soon as practicable, the Church (however poor) being always required to contribute towards his support; and the understanding being that their portion towards his salary is to be gradually increased, until they assume his whole support.

Before taking leave of the American Mission, it is with a peculiar thrill of pleasure that we record that during the past year, an association has been formed in England, called, "The Western Asia Missions Aid Society,"* which has already contributed to the amount of more than £500 in aid of the American and Greek Missions of the American Board in this part

* Since this Report was written the Society has received the designation of "Turkish Missions Aid Society," and has contributed to the American Missions in all the sum of £1,220, besides £100 in aid of Scripture readers in Palestine, under the superintendence of Bishop Gobat.

of the world. This association, being composed of Christians of several different denominations, who, having laid aside national and denominational prejudices, have spontaneously and cordially united, in deed as well as in word, in thus expressing their deep interest in the labours of the American Missionaries in Turkey, appears to us to be one of the most significant "signs of the times," and a satisfactory demonstration that the ideal unity of the Evangelical Alliance is an attainable reality, and useable for practical purposes, and not mere platform talk, as some have slanderously said.

Let us now go on with our investigation of the various Evangelical influences at work in Turkey and Greece.

The establishment of a Protestant Missionary Bishop at Jerusalem, by the Governments of Great Britain and Prussia, is well known to the whole Evangelical, and, I may say also, to the whole anti-Evangelical world. We know much less of the workings of this establishment, however, than we could wish, and we are unable to give a history of its operations. We know Bishop Gobat, however, and we are sure that he is using his position to the best advantage for the furtherance of Evangelical sentiments, and for promoting the highest good of both Jews and Gentiles.

In connection with the Bishop, are labouring several Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and also of the London Jews Society, with a Missionary physician and several lay assistants.

Under the superintendence of the Jewish Mission is a hospital, and also a House of Industry ; and the baptism of *seven* converts from Judaism was reported in 1854, and twenty candidates for baptism were under instruction.

In Jaffa there is a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and also a Scripture reader of the London Jews Society.

In Safet, there is a Jewish native assistant, and the Church Missionary Society have Missionaries at Bethlehem, Nabloos, and Nazareth; in each of which places, Evangelical sentiments are spreading among the people; and at the latter, there is said to be a Sabbath congregation of from 180 to 200 souls.

Besides the labours of the societies above mentioned, there are known to be several independent Protestant enterprises on foot, both in Jerusalem, and in other parts of Palestine, though the

writer of this paper is unable to furnish any particular information concerning them.

In the large city of Damascus there are two ordained Missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, and two more from the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States of America; and associated with the latter, are a Missionary physician and a female teacher.

Two regular preaching services are maintained in Arabic every Sabbath, at each of which there is an average attendance of about *forty;* and *sixteen* persons have been received into the communion of the Church—some of whom have been carried through the fiery ordeal of persecution for their faith, and have come out of the furnace like gold seven times purified. One of these individuals is now going through a course of study preparatory to entering on the Gospel ministry.

There are three prosperous schools in connexion with this Mission; two for males, with sixty pupils, and one for females, with fifty-two. Damascus contains a population of 150,000 souls, of whom 130,000 are Mohammedans, "of the straightest sect." Between 5,000 and 6,000 are Jews, and from 14,000 to 15,000 belong to the different classes of nominal Christians. Among these latter, especially, an extensive spirit of inquiry has been awakened; much has been done to shake the confidence of the people in their old systems, and to excite an earnest desire for a sounder faith and a purer worship. So great, in fact, has the pressure become upon the priests, that they are compelled, *nolens volens*, to introduce many important reforms into the Church.

If, now, we travel south, to the land of Egypt, we shall find "very much land yet to be possessed," though, we fear, but little progress made, as yet, towards gaining possession of it. Two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society are labouring in Cairo for the special benefit of the Copts, and one from the London Jews Society is finding encouraging access to the Jews of that city.

A Scotch mission was commenced in Alexandria two years ago, but we are unable to state what are its present condition and prospects.

At Smyrna the Church Missionary Society has a station, under the direction of a solitary missionary, with a Greek Protestant assistant. In 1852 this missionary reported that a few

Greeks, as he hoped, had been brought from darkness to light.

Let us now return once more to the capital of the Turkish Empire. We have spoken hitherto only of the American Mission in this city; but there are various other important Protestant influences at work here. In a city of a million of souls, the greater part of whom are sunk in the deepest spiritual darkness, there is need and room for many labourers.

It is supposed that among the inhabitants of this place there are not far from 70,000 Jews. The London Jews Society and the Free Church of Scotland both have missionaries in this field, as well as the American Board.

Connected with the first-named society, there are at present in Constantinople three missionaries, two schoolmasters, one school mistress, and one colporteur. Since 1853, two adult Jews and one Jewess, and four children, have been baptized. Besides these, there are several Catechumens, and a good number who, whilst they openly adhere to the synagogue, for fear of the Rabbies, are secret inquirers into the truth of Christianity. There is a regular service on the Sabbath in Hebrew-Spanish at Orta-Keuy, on the Bosphorus, with an average congregation of from *fifteen* to *twenty* individuals. In connexion with this Mission are also two schools—one at Orta-Keuy, which contains *twelve* pupils, and the other in a large Jewish quarter of the city proper, containing *ninety*. The Rabbies have several times attempted to arrest the progress of the light among their people, by persecution and otherwise, but hitherto without any effect. One of the missionaries is a medical man, and he is enabled to gain access to many Jewish minds that otherwise would be inaccessible. It may as well be mentioned in this connexion that missionaries of this same society are labouring for the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Jassy, Bucharest, Smyrna, and Bagdad; in the two former places, especially, with very encouraging results.

The Free Church of Scotland has, at present, three married missionaries, located in Constantinople; one for the Askenari (German Jews), and two for the Sephardim (Spanish Jews); also one licensed preacher; one male and one female teacher from Scotland; one also from Germany; and two colporteurs. There are three schools connected with this Mission, located in different quarters of the city and suburbs. Two of

t hem are for boys and girls, the one containing fifty pupils, and the other seventy; and the third is for girls, chiefly of the Italian Jews, containing about thirty-five pupils. These schools are all very prosperous and useful.

The whole number that have been baptized by the Scotch missionaries is *eighteen—seventeen* of whom were from the German Jews (one a female), and the eighteenth was a Spanish Jew. This last, however, and four of the others, have since apostatized.

On every Sabbath there are two preaching services for the German Jews, with an encouraging attendance. They have no service for the Spanish Jews.

Some very useful tracts in the Hebrew-Spanish have been got out by this Mission; and its colporteurs are quite successful in disseminating books and tracts among the Jews of the capital, with whom they have frequent conversations and discussions.

But we must notice other evangelical influences that are at present at work in the capital of the Turkish Empire. A devout English traveller, spending a Sabbath in Pera, would naturally desire to join in the public worship of God, in the manner to which he had been accustomed from his youth up. Let him go to the palace of the embassy, and there he will find a goodly number assembled twice every Lord's day, listening to the words of eternal life, from the chaplain of the Legation, whose trumpet, we may here be allowed to say, "gives no uncertain sound." If the traveller is a Scotchman he will find in the quarter of Hasskeuy a service in English, conducted by the missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland. If he is an American, he will find another in Pera, conducted by his own countrymen resident here.

If he is a German, he has only to inquire his way to the Prussian Ambassador's palace, and there he will hear the Gospel preached every Sabbath in his own native tongue; or, if he happens to be in the suburb of Galata, he will find in the Scotch Chapel there two German services on every Lord's day.

If he desires to hear the Word of God in the Italian language, he will find in Pera a regular Italian Protestant service; and if in French, he will be gratified by a visit to the chapel of the Dutch Embassy, where a service in French has recently been opened, which we hope will never be closed.

Besides the above, there is English preaching in Ortakeny, and English and German preaching in Bebek, both of them villages on the Bosphorus, where foreign residents, speaking these

languages, are found, with their families. These various Protestant services in the European languages, although intended, first of all, for foreigners who reside in this capital, yet are by no means without their influence on the native mind around. The simple fact of so many Protestant services being publicly held, in such a seat of Satan as this is, cannot be of small account (and we would include in this remark Smyrna, Alexandria, and Athens, where British chaplains are also found), and in addition, more or less of the natives themselves, who have learned foreign languages, are usually present at each of these services.

Let us here recapitulate, in few words, for the sake of presenting a striking contrast. When the oldest Missionary upon the ground first took up his residence here, there was only a single Protestant service in all Constantinople and its suburbs, and that was at the English Embassy, with a mere handful of attendants. The Missionary's own family often constituted half of the entire congregation!

Now, on every Lord's Day, within the same space, there are, at least, *twenty-one* Evangelical sermons preached in six different quarters of the city—distant from each other—and in the following languages:—

English, French, Italian, German, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew-Spanish, and Turkish. Truly may we say, "This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes!" To him, alone, be all the praise!

Nor must we fail to mention that in the department of Christian education, the change has been equally marked. Twenty-five years ago, there was not a single Protestant school in all Constantinople and its environs! Now, there are, at least, *thirteen*, some of them of a high order, and all of them under a strong religious influence! One large and flourishing female boarding seminary, at which are found a good number of Greeks, as well as others, in the very heart of Pera, is under the superintendence of two English ladies, who are every way qualified for the important post they hold, and whose constant aim is to bring forward their pupils in that most important of all sciences, the knowledge of the Word of God.

Near by, in the same quarter, is a very promising school for Italian boys, most of whom are from Roman Catholic families, taught by a Refugee, who, with his wife, has embraced the Pro-

testant religion—the establishment being under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Turin, the Italian Protestant preacher already alluded to.

Then, there is a large German school, under the patronage of the Prussian Legation, and all the Missionary schools, which make up the number to thirteen, as stated above.

We purposely leave out of account, in this report, the various influences, some of them for good, but too many, alas! we fear, for evil, which the present war has been the means of bringing into this country. It would be premature to speak now of the operation of these causes, and we wait in the attitude of prayer, and of hope, to see what the Lord will do.

A few words will suffice for what we have to say, additional, of Greece, and with that we shall finish this report.

At Athens there are missionaries labouring from three different Protestant bodies—namely, the American Board, the American Baptist Society, and the American Episcopal Church. The labours of the latter seem to be chiefly confined to the department of education; and at one time as many as from six to seven hundred pupils were found in their schools. This number is believed to be somewhat diminished; but, nevertheless, these schools are still quite full and very flourishing, the pupils being from five to fifteen years of age, and from every class of society.

The Baptist missionaries, two or three in number, reside at the Piræus, and are engaged in teaching, preaching, and the publication of books.

The one and only missionary of the American Board in Greece still continues his labours at Athens, although, in years past, the most vigorous efforts have been made to drive him from his post. He maintains a public preaching service in the Greek language, which is well attended; and he has taken special pains to distribute the Word of God and other books throughout the kingdom.

In the island of Syra, the Church Missionary Society have long had a station, with a single missionary, who holds regular services on Sunday, both in English and German, and who has a most interesting school of 284 Greek pupils.

Much missionary work has been done for the Greek nation; the Bible has been widely diffused; multitudes of children have been educated in the missionary schools, and evangelical sentiments have been communicated to many minds; but the want of

deep spiritual feeling is still sadly evident, and few indeed seem to be seeking in earnest for the salvation of their souls.

We cannot bring our report to a better close than by inserting from Dr. King the following brief but graphic description of "Greece as a Missionary Field":—

"Covered with the thorns and briars and thistles of superstition for ages, it is a difficult field to cultivate. I have been labouring in it for about *twenty-seven years*, ploughing and sowing in tears, yet with hope; and I still feel sure that the time of harvest will come, and that the sheaves will be brought in with rejoicing. Prejudices are giving way; a great victory with regard to religious liberty has been gained within the last few years. I distribute thousands and hundreds of thousands of religious tracts, unhindered; the *Word of God*—the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament—is received in all the schools of the kingdom, has free course among the people, and will be glorified. A few only appear to have received the truth in the love of it; but many are convinced of the folly of their superstitions and the importance of receiving the *Word of God* as the only rule of faith and practice. The restraint already put upon the influence of *Gog and Magog* has had a happy effect; and should that influence be *wholly* restrained, a still happier may be expected. I have never had more reason to hope for success in my labours than at present."

ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S-DAY.

I.

IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. M. DESCOMBAZ, LYONS.

II.

IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. M. DISTELBARTH, MESFINGEN, WURTEMBURG.

III.

IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY THE REV. J. JORDAN, VICAR OF ENSTONE.

ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S-DAY.

ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S-DAY IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. M. DESCOMBAZ,
LYONS.

August 31.—*Church of Redemption.*

The institution of a day of rest is not a mere human or social institution, but is one of Divine origin, and ascends to the very cradle of the world. The day of rest was inscribed in the first patriachal revelation, and preceded the promulgation of the Law on Sinai. (Gen. ii. 2; Exod. xx. 11; xxxi. 13.) Occupying an important position in the Law of the two tables, that commandment was constantly reinvoked by the prophets of the ancient Church. (Lam. i. 7; Isai. lvi. 2, 6; Ezek. xx. 12, 13; xliv. 24.) It was sanctioned by Jesus Christ, who freed it from pharisaical traditions, and restored it to its primitive design. (Matt. xii. 5—12; Luke xiii. 14, 15; xiv. 14, &c.; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10.) These points being settled, we have before us three questions, which will complete our whole work.

I. How is the Lord's-day observed among the principal part of those who are called Christians, and particularly on our Continent?

II. What has been done in favour of the sanctification of the day?

III. What have we still to do in its behalf?

I. How is the Lord's-day observed?

The information we have received embraces chiefly the countries speaking the French language—Switzerland, France, and Belgium, and some information we have from Holland. We will cite facts; all are drawn from good sources, and are of a date altogether recent. Nearly everywhere the same spectacle presents itself to our eyes. On the one side, it is true, are to be seen, among serious and consistent Christians, the rest of the Sabbath; its consecration to the service of the

Lord; and, in general, a cordial submission to His holy will. But, on the other side, are masses of Protestants, imbued with the lax maxims of the world, who profane it. Protestant countries, less burdened with feast-days than Catholic countries, appear to have best preserved a certain external respect for the Sabbath; but if we do not see in these on that day, as in Belgium and France—markets, fairs, public sales prescribed by authority; immense works, executed in the name of the State, or by companies, and persisted in, without shame, all the day, or a part of the day, on Sunday; vast manufactories at work, as during the course of the week—it is nevertheless true, that the sanctification of the day of rest exists but among a small minority. As for the majority, if not engaged in ostensible labours, they are occupied with work at home; and, after a brief attendance at church, resign themselves to pleasure, to dissipation—too frequently even to debauchery. Even among persons of reflection, business or the indifference (*far niente*) which engenders indolence of mind, or hardness of heart, prevail; spirit, soul, and body are enslaved by the empire of Mammon.

With respect to the sanctification of the Sabbath.—In the Bernese Jura they write to us thus: "The state of our country is deplorable; the agricultural population observe it less than the manufacturing, for among them masters and labourers profane it by work and pleasure." "In country places and in our towns," says another correspondent from the same canton, "the observance of the Lord's-day has much diminished within the last thirty years. At that time, no one in my village would have dared to get in his harvest on that day. Now, when engaged in agricultural labour, that day differs but little from other days. Two years ago, the head of one of the principal families of the town was condemned in a fine of eight francs, for having had his hay brought home at the time of Divine worship. If it had been at another hour, the fine would have been less, and if he had demanded permission—which would never have been refused him—he would not have been fined at all."

In the Canton de Vaud there is generally the same disregard of the Sabbath. "There is, however, there," they write from that canton, "a certain decency of observance; and, some years since, there was a degree of improvement; but, in consequence of disputes with the Free Church, there have been

hindrances in certain districts." In more than one commune, the local authorities are far from setting a good example. The labours of the field, during the time of harvest, which only took place after Divine service, are done more and more in the morning. In the central part of the canton, a country chiefly agricultural, labour on the Sabbath is less common.

In the Protestant part of the canton of FRIBOURG, the picture appears less sad than in the rest of the country. At M——, I have only once seen manual labour on the Sabbath. We should rejoice if, on that day, the public-houses were as little frequented as the fields. The political events which have agitated the canton since 1846, have done much mischief by encouraging a taste for drinking.

From NEUFCHATEL they write, "The better observance of the Sabbath is, with us, at a stand still. It is, however, better kept at Neufchatel than in our great manufacturing centres, Locle and Chaux-de-Fords."

If the santification of the Sabbath consisted only in the closing of shops, and in the abundance of hearers in the churches, they might say that the town of GENEVA was one of those on the Continent where the day is less ill observed. But let us not forget that external observance is but the bark of the tree, and that consecration to the service of God, true sanctification, is its sap, its life. Still let us always proclaim with thankfulness the fruits of the Reformation. Why have they not more generally spread? And how happens it that, by the side of a considerable part of the population devoutly attached to the Divine law, there is in the same canton, both in town and country, a sad contrast? There also, amongst a crowd of people, the Sunday is the day of pleasure and of business.

GERMAN SWITZERLAND presents us with similar characteristics. At Bâle, the Geneva of the North of Switzerland, family life, traditional piety, and the blessed influence of one of the greatest Missionary centres, have raised a sort of rampart against the profanation of the Sabbath. In general, the agricultural districts appear in better condition than the manufacturing. In the latter, materialism seems to have affected the source of spiritual life; the body has become a machine, and that living machine is in full activity on the day of the Lord, and rests itself on the Monday. But, what a rest! what utter forgetfulness of the Divine institution! In Catholic Switzerland, notwithstanding

the secular power of certain religious practices, you may search in vain for the true sanctification of the Sabbath. Festivals instituted by the Church have absorbed, have destroyed, that which God has given us. Add to these military fêtes, political elections, the shooting days, both of the canton and the confederation, and the movements of troops ordinarily fixed for Sunday, and you will still have but a feeble idea of the profanation of the day of the Lord.

From Switzerland let us pass on to FRANCE. Statistical details of the neglect of the Sabbath in the eighty-six departments would offer a melancholy monotony. Although we are in possession of materials very nearly sufficient to make it, we forbear inflicting its tediousness. We will content ourselves with some proofs taken indifferently from our voluminous correspondence.

From LA SOMME they write, "Disregard of the Sabbath is very general in this department, and in that of the PAS-DE-CALAIS. There is no sensible difference in that respect between agricultural and manufacturing districts, nor between the different classes of society. But there is a very remarkable difference on the subject between Catholics and Protestants. They even assure me that in certain parts of the Pas-de-Calais those who will not go to a public-house on Sunday are called Protestants." This is a reproach that we should delight to see merited by all the Protestants of France.

In the VOSGES, "spinners, tanners, and millers work openly every Sunday until the middle of the day. The manufacturing districts are, in general, more addicted to labour than the agricultural."

From the HAUT-RHIN.—"The rich seem in every way to make the day of the Lord like the other days of the week. The poor, under pretence of being obliged to labour for a livelihood, have no better respect for the holy day. The middle classes are, perhaps, those which violate it the least."

From the ISERE.—"There are in general persons in easy circumstances, but occupied in business, who push on work upon that day — as proprietors, masters of workmen, architects, and even, it must be said, agents of the Government."

In the JURA, the AIR, and the DOUBS, there is the same difference between manufacturing districts and the agricultural

population; the latter being quieter and less estranged from the rest of the Sabbath.

From the Loire they write, "Although labour may be suspended in the ribbon manufactories, in the forges, and in the mines, the Sabbath is not on that account observed. Men of piety alone appreciate the blessings of the Sabbath and constrain themselves to pass it in rest and in works of piety. Workpeople, and those employed in large establishments, are occupied to such a degree that it is impossible for the larger number of them to attend any place of worship." The same state of things exists in all the chief centres of industry, as the Rhone, the Seine, the Gand, &c.; the workman, like an unhappy serf attached to the soil, being under the domination of chiefs, who threaten to deprive him of his bread if he does not bow himself beneath the yoke.

From the Mayence.—"There is no doubt that the Fête-Dieu, the fête of Notre-Dame, and All Saints'-day are better observed than Sunday, the police coming to the aid of the clergy and superintending their observance."

From the Aube.—"The evil is so great, so deep, so general, that no distinction can be made between agricultural and manufacturing districts. There is, however, a distinction to be made between Catholic populations and Protestant. The latter are, small as their proportion is, far more attentive to Divine worship."

From the Eure.—"If any regard for the Sabbath is observable here, it is chiefly among the middle class, the reason of which is plain, that class not having such extensive occupations as the wealthy, nor such absolute wants as the poor. As for the progress made during the last thirty years, apart from that of the Protestants, there has been none. Some persons, indeed, have said to me, 'Ah! when we were young they didn't work on the Sunday, as they do now-a-days.'"

Belgium, except in the Evangelical churches to be found there, does not present a very gratifying appearance. "Amongst almost the whole entire population the idea of a Sabbath is lost. Not only the theatres are not closed, but even concerts, representations of dramatical societies, provided more especially for the people, have preference of that day. All classes of society concur in this. The higher class avow frankly that they go to mass to hear beautiful music, frequently that of the opera. The

middle class (*les bourgeois*) and the working people frequent worship chiefly because they are dependent upon the clergy."

HOLLAND, being a Protestant country, is less ravaged by that scourge—viz., the clergy. "The disorders of every kind which have desolated most parts of Germany, have never occurred in a tangible form in Holland. The people have a certain degree of circumspection. The churches are, in general, very well attended. In the large towns a certain amount of tranquillity reigns; most shops are closed on the Sabbath. We must not, however, hasten to the conclusion that the Sabbath is strictly observed in our country. With the exception of really pious families, a great part of the population, after having passed some time at church, gives itself up to amusements and business. Excursion trains on the railroads offer great attractions to those who do not submit heartily to the Word of our God."

Such is the general view that we have before our eyes. It is dark, though chequered; and its *ensemble* afflicts profoundly the heart of every Christian. It is, however, cheering to distinguish in that dark night, here and there, some bright gleams, precious rays of the Sun of Righteousness. Here, again, let us permit our correspondents to speak. We regret being unable to attend to all.

In the ISERE.—"There is, without doubt, here a tendency to a better observance of the Lord's-day. That result is due to religious awakening, which has produced salutary effects not only upon those who continue strangers to it, but even upon the Catholics. Thus, in fact, it is said that in several mixed communes the priests cite the Protestants as an example in that respect."

In the HIGH ALPS.—"The awakening that took place here some twenty or thirty years since produced salutary effects which still remain."

In the SAÔNE and LOIRE, the DOUBS, and the JURA.—From M—— they write, "Souls truly awakened are generally distinguished by their anxiety to keep holy the Lord's-day."

In MAYENCE.—"You ask me if there exists, in regard to this subject, any difference between Catholics and Protestants. I believe that between nominal Catholics and Protestants there is none, but that it is extreme when we compare, under that point of view, true Christian Protestants even with pious Catholics; for, by the blessing of our heavenly Father, we have brethren

in Christ amongst our fellow-citizens. Here, as elsewhere, the Lord has His thousands who have not bowed the knee before Baal, who, although a small number, are the salt of the earth, a light in the world."

II. What has been effected in favour of the observance of the Sabbath?

Without mentioning, for the moment, such legitimate and effective means as have not been altogether neglected, let us particularly note two especial ones which have been exercised, and observe what have been their results.

Regulations of Police.

In Switzerland, certain legislative and municipal measures have forbidden admission to wine-shops during morning worship. There are but five places where that vain forbiddance has been respected. Often the very men who have framed the forbiddance, are the most earnest in violating it. What is to be expected from such measures?

In France, after the Restoration, appeared the famous law upon the observance of the Sabbath, called the *Law Beugnot*, from the name of the minister who had countersigned it. Some were willing to believe that that law would be well received in the Seine Inférieure, where M. Beugnot had left behind him honourable recollections as administrator of that rich department, of which he was prefect in 1813. However, some complained in High Normandy, as well as elsewhere, against the Law Beugnot, which never has been observed, notwithstanding all attempts that have been made respecting it. The authorities, civil and judicial, have themselves exhibited, in regard to it, much feebleness, to say nothing more, in ordering grand reviews and electoral meetings on the Sabbath, in presiding at the Courts of Assize, in suffering public works to go on at the prefectures and mayoralties, and in works and workshops carried on at the expense of the State. The authorities permit the theatres to be closed on Saturday, and to perform on Sunday. There are not even exceptions to that practice, the universal one, for the greatest solemnities of the Christian church, as evidenced by what we have read lately in a ministerial journal in one of our great cities. Thus: "Theatrical Performances suspended during the solemnities of the Holy Week. Re-opened on the Sunday following, being Easter-day." Thus, on the one side, by their incapacity and weakness, on the other by their mani-

fest inconsistency, the very authorities themselves destroy their own laws. Their power expires as soon as they desire to regulate the observance of the Sabbath. It never succeeds, even in establishing respect for the right which labourers have for the rest which the Creator provides for them; it is powerless to wrest them from the avarice of the great manufacturers, and, excepting some regulations relative to apprentices, it proves its incompetence by the deadly example that it gives.

About three years since the Government made a law recommending cessation from work on the Sabbath, and ordering it in the workshops of the State. Well, what has been the result? In one of the largest ports of France, at Cherbourg, "the works of the great basin, in which 5,000 labourers are employed, are constantly open on the day of rest. They threaten to deprive of their bread the Protestant labourers and others engaged there, together with their families, who are unwilling to work on that day. 'If you are not willing to work on the Sunday you shall not return on the Monday.' Such is the constant answer of the director. Is the miserable condition of the negroes of the southern States of America more deplorable? They have secured to them at least the rest of the Lord's-day."

Some associations have been attempted. During the last two or three years the Catholic clergy have imposed on themselves the task of founding or encouraging societies for the observance of the Sabbath. There was published at Paris, under their auspices, in 1853, a journal specially dedicated to the revival of the blessed law of a weekly rest. We have watched with interest that publication. The association of Paris numbered last month from 4,000 to 5,000 members.

"Sabbath work (*L'œuvre du Dimanche*), say the rules, has for its object to propagate, by persuasive means, the observance of rest on Sundays and festivals. Those who agree to take part in it enter into an engagement, neither to work nor cause others to work, neither to buy nor to sell, except under peculiar circumstances, authorised by religious law. Moreover, they pledge themselves, except for special reasons, to give the utmost possible preference to tradesmen who do not habitually sell on the Sabbath. All the members in effect agree, that for the indemnification of those who renounce the benefits of labour on the Sabbath, justice demands that they employ them by preference." In many towns and departments associations founded upon the

same basis are formed; viz., cessation from worldly business, and agreement amongst the members, with the understanding that their fellow-members and competitors agree also.

Let us state first the good intentions of the founders. They desire the suspension of all labour. To attain that object is something; but is it enough? Is observance of the Sabbath, in the Christian sense of the word, nothing more than being free from labour? To take as a point of departure a stoppage only; is that to enter upon a journey in reality? Is it not evident that the tradesman, confined all the week to his counter, the workman to his shop, the lawyer to his office, demand nothing less than the power, without incurring anxious inquiry, to leave the one his counter, the other his workshop, the third his office, that they may be able to dispose, according to their own pleasure, of the whole Sabbath? According to their pleasure, do we say, and not according to the will of the Lord? Yes, indeed, according to their pleasure; that is to say, in almost every case, according to the bent of the heart, in the vortex of amusements. Has God, then, restricted himself to the saying, "Thou shalt do no work?" Has not He said, "Remember the day of rest *to keep it holy?*" Has, then, that use of rest been sufficiently aimed at according to the principal design of the associations?

We have read with attention the programmes of Catholic societies for the observance of Sunday, and the charges of bishops, and we have found there some excellent things respecting the necessity of abstaining from labour on that day, respecting the need of a weekly rest, and upon the peculiarity of a day established by God to respond to the wants of our nature. We have met with some eloquent appeals upon the convenience and utility of observing the Sabbath, but not a word respecting its true design; not a word upon the necessity and blessings of the regeneration of the heart by faith alone in Jesus Christ; not a word upon that living faith which, together with the assurance of salvation, inspires obedience to the will of God; above all, not a word upon the use of that weapon which breaks the hardness of the unconverted—upon the reading of the Word of our heavenly Father; not a word upon that spiritual food without which no man seeks after the vanities of earth, or holds to delusive superstitions with which to hide the void of his heart. These have seized man by the arm instead of addressing the nobler part, the very inmost of his being—his soul—which must be saved at

every cost; they have appealed to his interests rather than his principles. In brief, their tortuous path was too tedious, and they have, in consequence, failed to accomplish their object.

In fact, all our correspondents are unanimous in marking the slight moral effect of these associations, and the hasty dissolution of many of them. One of them writes, "As for the associations for the observance of the Sabbath, the only one that I know at all is that of Paris, and what I have learned respecting it does not appear to me of a nature to represent it as commendable. It is not a plant planted by our heavenly Father: moreover, I believe that it will only linger on, to be rooted up. Temporal interest is its grand motive. With the greater part of the tradesmen of Paris who have joined it, it is only a matter of speculation. If it turns out well, if their business is increased by it, they will continue to be members; if it occasions loss to them, they will re-open their shops on the Sunday. With most people cessation from labour is only an opportunity for extravagance, for debauchery, and for ruin. This is sufficient to satisfy you that their progress is, in a sense, the reverse of the sanctification of the Sabbath."

The Haut-Rhin.—In the spring of 1854, the experiment of a mixed society for the sanctification of the Sabbath was made at Colmar. The members pledged themselves to sell nothing and to buy nothing on that day, except in case of absolute necessity; besides which they pledged themselves to deal in preference, during the week, with those who closed their shops on Sunday. That society existed some weeks, and then fell to the ground; in the first place, because it had been organized by a party whose power was feared; in the second place, by the opposition of the dealers and wine merchants, who live by country customers, who come to the tavern only on the Sabbath; in the third, by the competition of the Jews. It is of no purpose to say more of the association.

The Vosges.—An association exists at S——. It has been started by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and placed under the patronage of the Bishop. It is asserted that all sorts of menaces, without anything of the nature of voluntary feelings, and of Evangelical spirituality, have been employed to attain that result. As for anything more, its effect is nothing, or almost nothing. Some shops, it is true, have remained closed on Sundays and festivals; but the sanctification, properly so

called, of the day of the Lord, is unknown. Those who commenced the undertaking had not, themselves, that sanctification in view. There is, at S——, a shopkeeper connected with the society in question, who kept his shop closed on the Sunday for three or four months, but who has entered into an agreement with a Jew confidentially, who opens every Sunday a stall in the open air, at the very door of the before-mentioned shop, to sell the merchandise of his associate.

In the AUBE.—There is no other association for the cessation of labour at Troyes than that of the notaries, attornies, and advocates, founded full three years since, for closing their offices on Sunday, but only for the purpose of being free on that day, and being able to devote themselves so much the more to their pleasures. The Sunday is no less the day of public sales, as well in the town, as in the country. They are publicly advertised on the door of the offices of notaries and attornies, and published in the journals.

The invariable answer made to the enquiry, what is the *moral* influence of associations for the Sabbath? is—nothing, or next to nothing.

There is no doubt that more than one shopkeeper, or one workman, can make a good use of the hours of liberty which they have obtained; and it would be impossible that it should not be so; but the various attempts that have been made present generally this result—cessation from labour is turned to the profit of pleasure; the true sanctification of the Sabbath exists not in it.

HOLLAND offers us one proof more of the weakness of police regulations in such a matter. The law of 1815, promulgated by William I., exists still. The King declares his willingness to proceed in the steps of his pious predecessors, and to assure, by general measures, throughout the whole extent of the United Provinces, the celebration of the Lord's day and other Christian festivals. At the same time he grants to the municipal authorities the power of permitting, on these days, public amusements, plays, balls, concerts, &c. All these regulations are equivalent to the abrogation of the law.

In view of the barrenness of these efforts, and the insufficiency of these means, we must now ask, What have we to do? This is our third and last inquiry.

III. WHAT HAVE WE TO DO?

To reply to that question, let us not forget the true definition of the Sabbath.

The Sabbath is *the day of the Lord;* the day that the Lord has given us to consecrate to His service. Such is this wise, this paternal, this blessed institution of our God. Bodily rest has been granted to us, in order that the soul, separating itself from earthly engagements, may be able to nourish itself with the food which is proper for it, and serve with love the Author of its salvation. Rest is only the means to an end; sanctification is the end.

If, then, you separate rest from the blessing of sanctification; if you omit the latter, or if you give it but a secondary position, or even if you represent it as being only optional, and in some sort supererogatory, you denaturalize the design of the supreme Legislator; you annul the ordinance which He has established.

If you accomplish only cessation from labour, you do but displace the evil, and you ought to reflect that the man who abstains from all work on the Sabbath, and who substitutes for work carnal pleasures or entire mental inactivity, neither observes nor sanctifies the holy day one whit better than he who labours on it. The first is altogether as distant, and perhaps even more so, from submission to the command of God as the second.

Do we say, then, that we must not maintain the law of rest? Nothing of the kind. The will of God is precise; yet we do not fear to repeat, rest is the means, the indispensable auxiliary of sanctification; sanctification is the end.

To attain that end, so noble, so much in harmony with our double nature, bodily and spiritual, shall we appeal only to our interests?

Ah! never with impunity do we depart from the path pointed out by our Lord. The rest that He permits us is given for a purpose definite, precise, categorical, from which we must never vary, nor can we ever deviate without peril and without rebellion against God; that purpose, that object, is the sanctification of the day of rest.*

* To give to this definition the completeness which the writer of the Report evidently intended it to have, but yet has not fully expressed, it will be well for the reader to bear in mind that the Divine law of the Sabbath does not command *rest only*, but *sanctification* also, and it makes sanctification the primary object, rest the secondary and auxiliary one. Thus the law says expressly, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy." This is its essence, its spirit, its life, its grace, its power, its

Such is the exalted point of view in which the Christian places himself, not only to judge of the violation of the law of the Sabbath, but also to contend against it. All others are but secondary; the physical blessing of rest, the danger of excessive accumulation of property, the lowering of salaries; all these motives, and others analogous, have their value, but a value altogether subordinate to this one—the will of God, the love of God towards us. We diminish to nothing the action that Government ought to exercise according to the limits of its own competency. The State has the right, and for that very reason the duty, of guarding the public health, or public morality. That right it exercises by various hygienic measures; that is to say, by removing cemeteries to a distance from inhabited places, by vaccination, hospitals, medical police, the repression of offences and crimes by making provision for public instruction, &c., &c. All this is within its own domain; and if it is confirmed by facts that public health and morality are seriously endangered by uninterrupted labour from week's end to week's end, and by work forcibly imposed on the Sabbath on workmen and apprentices; if it is established that the observance of the Sabbath has become a mockery and an impossibility, in consequence of the holding of markets and fairs on that day; if it is proved that the excessive and even frightful multiplication of coffee-houses and other places of public entertainment is an incentive to offences and to irregularities of every kind, especially during the day of rest,—a government, enlightened and worthy of the name, would take measures, according to its power, to preserve those two great elements of national prosperity—health and morals.

It must be the same with those vast administrations known under the name of societies, or companies for working railroads, mines, manufactories, or any great industrial undertaking. That of the Orleans railroad gives a wise example that we ardently desire to see followed everywhere. By its resolution of the 16th of March last, 1855, the Council of Administration declares that it will "grant the most complete rest to every person belonging

blessing, all that gives it glory and grandeur. Rest is subsequently enjoined as clearing the day for the exercise and enjoyment of the blessing, and is itself a blessing *sui generis*, adapted to our bodily, and so ancillary to our spiritual, nature. But sanctification is the great blessing, the great glory, the great design and purpose of the day; so that he who does not sanctify the day does not observe the law of God, and he who does sanctify it himself reaps the blessing of doing God's will, by becoming sanctified himself in sanctifying the day of God.—NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.

to the company, on Sundays and legalised festivals, in such a manner that they may be able to fulfil, with the utmost freedom, their religious and family duties." In consequence, on all these days, the works of construction are suspended, even those repairs that are deemed not indispensable for the safety of the traffic. The workshops and places of business dependant upon the service, and the offices of the administration, except those of the guard, are closed; cases of urgency alone are allowed to constitute an exception. Amongst 9,021 agents of every description, more than a third have entire liberty on Sunday, the half enjoy a partial liberty, and only 1,035 are forced to be deprived of nearly all. In England and Scotland, rest is still more protected. The number of trains is limited as much as possible; there is no traffic of merchandise, and all goods' stations, without exception, are closed; there are never excursion or pleasure trains, such as are but too frequent in France, in Belgium, and even in Holland! It is a most deplorable thing to behold thousands of men forcibly deprived of the right of the weekly rest, and of moral blessings, by the consecration of that day to their eternal interests. It is one of the evils of a civilisation which has not its roots deep in a firm regard for the Word of God. But, as we are going to show, that evil, perhaps, diminishes in a certain measure.*

The heads of manufactories or workshops, and merchants, are also, up to a certain point, responsible for the health and morality of their servants. To force their clerks, their workmen, to incessant labour; to bind them in some sort to their machines, or their desks; to threaten with the loss of bread if they do not bow beneath this iron yoke, is to give evidence of the very grossest materialism; it is to draw down upon one's own head a terrible judgment; it is unceasingly to dig deep the ruin of one's country.

We have established, then, the necessity for rest; we proclaim with all our energy its legitimacy, yet only as a *means*. We invoke most earnestly the attention of the rulers of the State, of the heads of industrial and commercial enterprise, to the

* We regret, for the sake of our country, to be constrained to confess, that the favourable light in which England and Scotland are represented by M. Decombaz is illusory, and that excursion trains, as well as much ordinary traffic, are far too frequent, on many, in fact, most of our railroads on the Sabbath.—NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.

frightful ravages that are infallibly caused by the neglect of a Divine law made for the whole human race.

We have seen that most of the attempts that have been hitherto made to effect a proper observance of the Sabbath offer, as their motive, only worldly interests, or make them of primary importance, and have in consequence removed the safeguards that the Divine hand had erected. Hence their powerlessness. Worldly utilitarianism is abashed in presence of principles, in presence of the Divine rights. Instead of attacking the evil at its root, they have sought to prune the tree, while the fruits have ever been the same. Let us return, then, to the origin of the evil; let us lay it bare to its very depth. Let us proclaim, with a voice powerful and clear, the primitive institution of the day of the Lord. Let us employ all the weapons that charity and the Word of God put into our hands—the press, the pulpit, the school, family education. While elsewhere they prohibit the Word of God, let us redouble our efforts to disperse it. Let us teach the world that the true principle upon which the observance of the Sabbath rests is the renewal of the heart. Let us tell them that, except by such conversion as the Gospel requires, they have not, they cannot have, the true sanctification of the day.

To this mighty lever that stirs up the masses, to this proclamation of the Word of Life, let us add fervent and continual prayers. Contempt of the day of the Lord being one of the greatest barriers that Satan has raised against the progress of the kingdom of God, does it not belong to the prayers of converted souls to supplicate closely of our heavenly Father the destruction of the enemy's ramparts?

The spirit of prayer reviving among the children of God, they would feel themselves urged to renew it by all the means that an enlightened charity shall inspire: as the foundation and multiplication of Sunday schools for infants and young persons; schools for adults; the encouragement of instructive lectures; the circulation of good tracts, and of books popular, attractive, and evangelical; Christian visits; in a word, let us put in practice all the resources of an intelligent, humble, elevated zeal, and we shall thus answer to the high vocation that our name of Christians imposes on us.

Moreover, such action in favour of the Sabbath will be free from every sectarian controversy, and above all from that be-

clouding element of which the contact alone is a just subject of alarm for most men; again our action will be truly Biblical and external to that of an oppressing clergy, and so again the effects will be numerous and blessed. The associations founded or patronised by the Romish bishops have encountered very great opposition in the majority of the populations of our towns and rural districts: they have dreaded a power which they no longer want at all. Hear what a vicar-general said naively to a Protestant pastor of one of our departments, who asked him if they would do nothing to put an end to sales on the Sunday in the halls of the college: "Our principles respecting the Sabbath," said the vicar-general, "differ essentially from yours." The vicar had reason for what he said; no longer having for their only law the Word of God, the priests of Rome cannot conform themselves to it; their principles are essentially different from ours, which are only founded on that Divine Word.

The association founded at Paris, in 1853, by some members of our churches, by uniting itself to the Catholic element, has proved what is the fate reserved for such mixed societies. After having had more than three thousand adherents in Paris itself, there no longer remains of it scarcely anything.

To the rejection of a frigid utilitarianism, to the proclamation of true principles, to an intelligent zeal for the sanctification of the Sabbath, to united prayer, to an action purely evangelical, let us add the influence of example. The conscientious reverence of Christians for the observance of the day of rest will always be the most eloquent preaching of it, as entirely as their faithfulness in that respect will always be the greatest obstacle to a sincere reform.

Here is one of the greatest levers that we are called upon to set in motion; each Christian can put his hand to it. The humble labourer, who puts the Word of God above the word of man; the husbandman, who sanctifies the day of rest, are the apostles of that holy mission; their life is a powerful plea in favour of the cause we defend. The man of science, the professional man, the wealthy manufacturer, observing, by a principle of faith, the day of the Lord, shed around them, often without knowing it, that precious light which must enlighten the world. On this point we rejoice to cite our correspondents.

One of these, from the department of the Saône, tells us of a poor gunsmith, who, like all his neighbours, worked and sold on

the Sunday, and did on that day more business than during the six days of the week. One day the Gospel was presented to him. He read it, believed it, saw there his condemnation as a sinner, and then his salvation entirely obtained by Jesus Christ. He understood, immediately, what is the privilege of the Christian, especially with regard to labour on the Sabbath, and a new horizon opened itself before him. His wife, his children, still Roman Catholics, laughed, at first, at his scruples, and at his strange conduct; his neighbours were unsparing of their mockeries against him. But he continued firm. By degrees, his wife became convinced that he had chosen the good part; she, also, was brought over to the Gospel; then a daughter, next a son, afterwards some neighbours; and now a Christian congregation exists, where, for a long time, that father of a family was the only one who knew and served the Lord. The example of the gunsmith has borne its fruits.

In another department, that of the Rhone, a trading artisan, who was greatly wanting in faith, having been converted to the Gospel, felt most naturally the necessity for employing the Sunday as a Christian ought to do. His regular attendance at Evangelical worship, his progress in the faith, his peace and joy in the Lord, his visits of charity, all attested in him that renewal of the inner man, without which there cannot be the sanctification of the day of rest. A little after his conversion, he was invited by one of his brethren to unite himself to one of the associations mentioned above. "I have already learned," replied our brother, "and, moreover, God has graciously enabled me to learn, by His Word and Spirit, what is the employment that I ought to engage in on that day." With a condescension truly benevolent, he allowed himself to be entered upon the list of the members. To this very hour, he continues to observe the Word of God, whilst his brother, who invited him, not finding any *profit* in cessation from labour, soon relinquished an engagement in which his heart took no part. But, we doubt not the example of the Christian will not be lost upon all.

How happy should we be were we able to say that such is the faithful and stedfast walk of all those who profess Evangelical Christianity. Who does not know that very lax views, always encouraging to the lusts of the flesh, and certain notions respecting the observance of the Sabbath, which we believe to be unscriptural, have found their response amidst the revival of the

nineteenth century? We do not hesitate to say that those deadly doctrines are one of the greatest barriers raised against the advancement of the kingdom of God, especially where they have gained an entrance. Thus, what we set forth at the commencement we are not called upon to discuss here; but it is sufficient to distinguish them as one of the misfortunes of our revival, and to entreat those of our brethren who are collecting materials to study the question of the Sabbath, not to do so according to the notions furnished by weak men, but according to the brightness of the pure and eternal Word of our God. If the good example that Christians offer to the world has a great bearing, their evil example has an influence far more weighty. It is that which has always brought down upon Christendom the rod with which the Lord has smitten it. Thus Luther, speaking of the deluge which put an end to the old world, had reason to say of it, "The flood came not only on account of the corruption of the race of Cain, but because the righteous allowed themselves to be carried away by disobedience. When the members of the true Christian Church degenerate, the judgments of God are nigh at hand."

OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. A. DISTELBARTH,

MESFINGEN, WURTEMBERG.

ON THE EFFORTS MADE IN GERMANY SINCE 1848 IN FAVOUR OF THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE SABBATH.

I. By Independent Societies.

It is a great blessing of the Lord that re-action in favour of the observance of the Sabbath has arisen in the bosom of believers. The first impulse towards a better future were communicated,

1. *By the Kirchentag and by the Congress for the Inner Mission.*—In 1849, all the members of the Kirchentag at Wurtemberg mutually pledged themselves to labour thenceforth with zeal for the restoration of the observance of the Sabbath. The following year, at Stuttgard, they issued an appeal to the people of Germany, and addressed a petition to all the Governments. The Congress at Berlin, in 1853, voted a resolution to the effect, that all isolated restrictive measures were of no service, inasmuch as they did not recognise the necessity of observing the whole Lord's-day; and determined, besides, on publishing a memoir of Counsellor von Kröcher, on the means to be employed in accomplishing the sanctification of the Sabbath. Finally, the seventh Kirchentag, assembled at Frankfort in 1854, addressed a request to the chief civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Germany, and a circular to all the pastors, entreating them to strive earnestly, every one in his sphere, for the restoration of the Christian Sabbath. These assemblies revived new life in the nation, when they saw them occupied with ardent zeal on the Sabbath question.

2. *Different Societies of the Inner Mission.*—The society of Bremen gave the first example, by recalling to masters their duties towards their servants. Favourable mention should also be made of the societies of Hamburg, of Eastern Prussia (Kœnigsburg), of Posen, of Pomerania (Stettin), of Neumark, of the Rhenish

provinces (Lennep), of Hesse, of Baden, of Wurtemberg, and of Bavaria. The meetings which were held, the first being at Lanach, in the country of Baden, were so numerous, that they have given up counting them. In Eastern Prussia the country people, near to Ebbing, had meetings, in which they solemnly promised .to observe the Sabbath. We ought to mention, also, in an especial manner, Gnadau, in the Prussian province of Saxony. That place, long since a centre of light and living faith, combined, in the interest of the Sabbath, numerous assemblies of the clergy and laity, which were followed by abundant blessings. They there established, under the presidency of the Counsellor von Krœcher, a society for the sanctification of the Sabbath, the only one of the kind which exists in Germany, the efforts made to establish another at Berlin not having succeeded.

3. *Societies of Young Men*, to the number of a hundred and forty-four, have contributed, directly or indirectly, in restoring with honour the observance of the day of rest.

4. The Agricultural Society of Magdeburg, the noble proprietors of the Prussian provinces of Saxony and Pomerania, the manufacturers and merchants of the first of these provinces, and of the Rhenish provinces (Duisburg, Dusseldorf, Elberfeld, Crefeld), forty *maîtres d'état* of Kœnigsburg, the corporation of Demmin, the societies of the poor at Erlangen and Heilbronn, the directors of commerce and the association of artisans at Stuttgard, have given their adhesion to the observance of the Sabbath-day, and promised to exercise their influence in favour of that good cause. With the exception of fair times, all offices and shops remain closed on the Sabbath at Leipzic; a good old custom that every one strictly maintains.

II. Attempts made by the Ecclesiastical Authorities.

It was at Gnadau that they acquired the honour of having constrained the Ecclesiastical Councils, at Berlin, to exert themselves energetically in favour of the Sabbath. On the 17th of July, 1851, an assembly of laymen and clergy determined to send to the King of Prussia a deputation, to entreat him to put a stop to the scandalous profanations of the Lord's-day, which were committed under his Government. The King remitted the matter to the Superior Ecclesiastical Council, in order that it might give its judgment. It put forth a document of the most remarkable and beautiful character, which will make an

epoch in the history of the observance of the Sabbath. All the profanations that the State permitted, from respect to that holy day, were laid bare with a noble frankness, even to the bad example given by the Magistrates of Berlin, in the foundation of schools, which apprentices and workmen frequented every Sabbath, from eight to one o'clock. The report concluded with the suspension of all work on the Sabbath, in every branch of the public service. Some petitions to the same purpose were sent by many pastoral synods of Magdeburg; by the provincial synod of Oldenburg; by the consistory and synod of Stuttgard; by the consistory of Brunswick. The parochial counsellors of Wurtemburg, of Eastern Prussia, and Silesia, bestirred themselves alike with great activity, as well as the synods and Presbyterian councils of Rhenish Prussia (Hagen, Lennep). In conclusion, at the conference of the delegates of the superior ecclesiastical authorities of the Evangelical Church, which met at Eisenach in 1853, a proposition was made for collecting in every Church the principles of a law (*les materiaux de lois*) suitable for effecting the sanctification of the Sabbath.

III. Of the position that the chief civil authorities took.

Many governments replied to the petition that the Committee of the Kirchentag at Stuttgard had addressed to them. They were those of Brunswick, Hanover, Reuss-Greig, Saxe-Weimar, Schwarzburg, Sundenshausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Hombourg, and Wurtemberg. All these replies showed that they daily felt more the necessity of sanctifying the day of rest.

In 1850 and 1851 especially, the ordinances relating to the Sabbath were vigorously enforced; and in some states, in Prussia, Hanover, Brunswick, Meiningen, Reuss-Greig, Bavaria, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse, the officials received strict orders to that effect from their governments. In the country of Baden, the officials were invited to attend public worship, and received a formal order to cease from all work on the Sabbath; the carriage of merchandise was forbidden on the railroads; machines were compelled to be stopped during Divine service. The posting establishment in Saxony made such arrangements that its officials should have at least one Sunday in three unoccupied. In Prussia, the Minister of Commerce and Public Works, paying respect to a petition from Gnadau, gave orders to the directors of mines, and of the royal salt works, to

reduce as much as possible labour on the Sabbath, and to the officials having superintendence of buildings, to suspend all operations on that day. He authorised the custom-house officers to be relieved of their duties from eight in the morning to three in the afternoon, an excellent measure, and one which gave to a number of persons their liberty, at least during the hours of Divine service. All this, however, was of no avail, for means were found of eluding those orders, by causing work to be done during the night between the Saturday and Sunday, and the workmen were obliged to rest themselves instead of sanctifying the holy day. The postal department, for its part, ordained the closing of the offices during the hours of worship; and the Minister of War published, on the 25th of November, 1852, a regulation, according to which, in the marching and exercise of troops, the Sunday should be observed as much as it possibly could. Finally, by the personal initiative of the King, military parades on the Sabbath were entirely suppressed. The direction of police at Berlin and Munich, and the municipal council of Dresden, promulgated strict rules, specially designed to put a stop to all business on the Sabbath.

IV. Of the Influence exercised by Publications.

1. *Tracts.*—Among the number of the Religious Tract Societies that have occupied themselves regarding the question of the Sabbath, with especial interest, we ought to mention that of the Wupperthal and of Lower Saxony, and the Association for the publication in Prussia of writings for Christian edification, which has its residence at Berlin. Dr. Marriott, of Bâle, has displayed very unusual activity in this matter. For the rest, in all that concerns tracts, we ought to leave the palm to our brothers of Outre-Marche. There yet remains, as a proof, the fact that 1,044 English workmen competed for a prize offered for the best essay on the sanctification of the day of rest, as well as that similar appeals were produced in Germany, where seventeen essays were sent in to the Evangelical Society of Berlin, and seventy-six to Dr. Marriott. "The Pearl of Days," translated into German, has been dispersed by many thousands of copies.

2. In the following instances, again, they have not been backward. We will mention, first, the two prize essays of Liebelrut and Eschwald, who sought, while resting upon the Word of God, to prove the Divine origin of the Sabbath. We ought also to mention the articles published by Hengstenberg in the *Evan-*

gelical Gazette, those of Neander in the German journal, *Des Connaissances et de la Vie Chrêtienne,* and various writings of Kraussold, Kelbar, Stem, Alexander Bech, Kœler, Schwerin, and Van der Heydt.*

3. After the Kirchentag at Wittemberg, a journal was established, dedicated exclusively to the advancement of the sanctification of the Sabbath, under the title of "Monthly Sheet for the Sanctification of the Sabbath," edited by Pastor Mann, of Baden, and Pastor Walther, of Prussia. But at the end of two years it was stopped for want of subscribers. The most prolific source in the question that occupies us, as chiefly that which concerns the Inner Mission, is found in the Fly Sheets of Dr. Wichern, a man whose great activity in the sphere of the Inner Missions has rendered popular in Germany. In conclusion, may be mentioned the excellent "People's Sheet for Town and Country," edited by Natuseres, Sacher Professor in Prussia; "The Saxon Pilgrim;" "The Sabbath Sheet," of the Inner Mission in the Rhenish countries and in Westphalia; and "The Evangelical Sheet" of Wurtemberg.

V. Means employed for the Restoration of the Sabbath.

1. The Kirchentag at Stuttgard had a most happy influence on domestic worship. Since then, the subject of the observance of the Sabbath has been discussed in various places, and it has been re-established in many families, as various witnesses prove.

2. *Public worship for children,* first founded at Berlin, has been established successively at Hamburg, Kœnigsburg, and Erlangen.

3. *Sunday evening services* have also been established at Hamburg, Bremen, Stettin, and Stuttgard. The Senate of Lubeck has refused to allow one of the churches for evening meetings.

* The French Translator of Pastor Distelbarth's Report, from which the present English one is made, has thought it necessary to advise his readers, in a note, that he has done his best to verify these German names and titles in copying or rendering them from the original in which they were written. We, of course, have strictly adhered to his version and orthography, and trust we shall thus have conveyed to our readers, as correctly as possible, the names of our brethren in Germany who are the defenders of God's holy day. One of these we are happy to be able to speak of from much and very interesting fraternal epistolary communication with him—the Pastor Alexander Bech, of Lohn, Schaffhausen, in Switzerland—who has not only translated some of the working-men's essays into German for the benefit of his countrymen, but through the writer of this note, has had some most interesting correspondence with some of the essayists, which he also translated and published for the perusal of German workmen.—Note by Translator.

4. *Bible classes* have been opened, during the last few years, at Hamburg, Berlin Weissenfels, Naumburg, and Durlach. In some other places, as, for example, in Wurtemberg, they have long ago been exercised in religious observances.

5. *Special services for the poor* have been held in the province of Prussia, particularly at Kœnigsberg and at Stuttgard.

6. *Sunday schools*, which have existed in Wurtemberg ever since 1789, have been likewise organised at Cobourg, Kœnigsberg, Dantzig, Posen, Mesky in Silesia, Bonn, Elberfeld, Heidelberg, and Hamburg.

7. *Itinerant preachers* have been sent upon the line of the railway of Eastern Prussia, along the Oder, and in Upper Suabia. They continue to employ that kind of evangelists, even in the countries where worship has been regularly established; as in the country of Baden, in the province of Saxony, and in that of the Rhine. In Wurtemberg, Gustavus Werner entered upon a course of this kind of his own accord, and without being sent by any church or society. He could preach freely in the Lutheran Churches, even at the time that it had been decreed that he had separated himself from the Confession of Augsburg.

Such are the efforts made since 1848 in favour of the better observance of the Sabbath, according to the published reports that we have been able to consult, and the private communications which have been addressed to us. We might easily make a fair representation, in considering the results, with an excess of complaisance, but our duty is to be content with the truth.

ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY REV. JOHN JORDAN,

VICAR OF ENSTONE, OXFORDSHIRE.

Our title sufficiently indicates the purport of this report; and as the method of dealing with it has been prescribed, in a series of questions submitted to us for solution, so we have had both our subject and the mode of treating it provided for us, and have endeavoured to adhere to these as far as is compatible with the nature of the inquiry. We are not invited to discuss the Divine origin and sacred nature of the Sabbath-day, for these are plainly admitted in the inquiry raised as to its observance; neither are we required to examine into and prove the hallowing principle on which the ordinance of the Lord's-day is based, for there is no question whatever raised as to the undoubted meaning and application of the law of God ordaining the holy day of rest. What we have to do with is no question of God's law, which is indisputable, unchangeable; but man's treatment of and dealing with that law, his fulfilment of it, or disregard of it —in one word, the observance of the Lord's-day.*

* It is a debt of honour, as well as of gratitude, to mention the names of those by whom the compiler of the following report has been assisted. In England he has been favoured with communications from the Rev. J. T. Baylee, Secretary of the Society for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's-day, whose admirable volume, "Statistics and Facts in reference to the Lord's-day" is invaluable; from Melmott Walters, Esq., Treasurer of the Bath Association for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's-day; from the Rev. Robert Newstead, of Bath; and from the Rev. Robert Henderson, Secretary of the North of England Sabbath Alliance. From Scotland he has received valuable information from John Henderson, Esq., of Park; from John Macandrew, jun., Esq., of Edinburgh; and from the Rev. David A. Agnew, of Wigtown, to whose attention he was kindly commended by the Rev. William Chalmers, of London. To George Foley, Esq., of Dublin, the indefatigable and ever-ready Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, he is especially indebted for having collected for him most interesting notes from the following brethren in

The subject thus narrowed for our contemplation has been expanded into various topics, and comprised in a variety of questions, which we now propose to treat in the following order:—

SABBATH LEGISLATION.

I. What are the public laws respecting the observance of the Lord's-day? Are they observed, or have they fallen into disuse?

1. The whole course of legislation in Great Britain and Ireland, respecting the use and observance of the Sabbath, has been so remarkable, and is so prolific of experimental instruction to legislators in general, that it is worthy of the amplest detail, and the most profound reflection. We will first exhibit it in detail, and then deduce such reflections as ought, we conceive, to influence and control all legislation on such a subject.

In England, from the earliest times, and from the very first introduction of Christianity, the Lord's-day has been regarded with reverence. Laws to guard its sanctity, and to conserve its holy use, were made as early as the year 688 by King Ina; in the year 876 by Alfred, so justly styled the Great; by his son Edward about the year 912; by Edgar about the year 966; and by Canute about the year 1026.* During the period of the dark ages of Popery, the light of the Sabbath, like all else that is Divine, was dimmed and sullied, and only not quenched because it partakes of the nature of its Divine Institutor, and shineth even in darkness, though the darkness comprehend it not. Thus did it continue until the time of the Reformation, when, as true religion revived and increased, its light waxed clearer and brighter, and its holiness was again recognised and rejoiced in.

Notwithstanding the success which the Reformation acquired in England, after the fiery trial of Mary's reign, Elizabeth was unfortunately too little addicted to true religion to cherish either it or its ordinances from real religious principles. Her motives were chiefly political, and her inspiration was more of

various parts of Ireland, so as to give a very complete view of the diversified character of that country: viz., Rev. Dr. Urwick, of Dublin; Rev. William Tarbottom, of Limerick; Rev. A. M. Henderson, of Cork; Rev. N. Shepperd, Sligo; William Martin, Esq., Secretary of the Londonderry Alliance; and Rev. J. Mencely, Convener of the Belfast Sabbath Committee.

* See a Treatise on the Sabbath, by Dr. White, Bishop of Ely. London, 1636.

an earthly than a heavenly tendency. The Sabbath, or Lord's-day, the emblem of that rest which remaineth for the people of God, did not receive that solemn respect and holy reverence which are due to it as a Divine ordinance. Nevertheless it was legally recognised, both incidentally and directly. One of the first laws of Elizabeth's reign was to revise and sanction the Book of Common Prayer, which the Reformers, who had suffered in Mary's time, had composed in that of Edward VI. Thus, by statute, the Book of Common Prayer becomes part and parcel of the law of the land; and this is a most important fact in relation to the Sabbath in England. For the law of the Sabbath, as it exists in the fourth commandment, is thereby adopted into, and made part of, the statute-law of the land, and is, upon this authority, and with this sanction, proclaimed as such every Sabbath-day. And although, indeed, no penalties of man have been introduced into it, so as to enforce the Divine injunctions it contains, yet it is all-important that the law is thus recognised, and thus unceasingly promulgated from week to week in the ears and hearing of the people. Nor of the people only, but of the clergy also, amongst some of whom there have, at times, prevailed very lax notions respecting the Divine law of the Sabbath, as if it were of Moses and not of God. These notions, indeed, it is not our business to discuss—neither is this the occasion for doing so—yet it is impossible to forbear remarking that this unceasing promulgation of the law is at once an assertion of its continuing and existing authority and force; and, at the same time, an unanswerable refutation of the laxity and indifference of any who would attempt to explain away its purport, or to diminish or weaken its full efficacy and design. By the statute-law of England, which prescribes for the use of the Church of England a Book of Common Prayer, of which the Decalogue, with its Sabbath-law, is a most important portion, that law is every Sabbath-day promulgated under the authority and by the injunction of the constitutional powers of England. It is not intended or presumed hereby to claim any additional authority for the law of the Sabbath, for it is impossible for man to add to, or diminish from, laws that are of Divine origin, and which consequently have an authority utterly independent of, and superior to, all human sanction; but it is important, in considering the course of human legislation on the subject, to observe, that the British constitution does

by statute recognise and adopt—or, more properly, honours itself by the reception and acknowledgment of—this Divine institution. Nor is the law merely promulgated thus each Sabbath-day, but the people are specially engaged to pray concerning it: "Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law." All, therefore, clergy and laity, are thus pledged to keep this law in spirit and in truth; while, by this continual promulgation of it, under the direction of the statute-law of the kingdom, the law itself is made part and parcel of our own law, and the foundation, consequently, of all legislation respecting the Sabbath.

Besides this notable legislation respecting the Sabbath, in the reign of Elizabeth, there was also one distinct enactment framed expressly to guard it; for in the law respecting the Book of Common Prayer, already referred to, it was enjoined that all persons should, upon every Sunday, attend the public services of religion "upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also of a fine of twelvepence for every such offence" as being absent therefrom.

The people, however, were still too much tinctured with the ill effects of Popery, which has always more or less desecrated the Sabbath, to be easily raised to its right observance; and the Government yielded to their inclinations. What was worse, the dignitaries of the Church, and the clergy generally, favoured the misuse and profanation of the Sabbath, and, provided that men went to their parish churches and approved of what they met with there, any further respect for the Sabbath was disregarded, and it was most grievously abused; and yet the laity, all the while, especially the Parliament and the judges of the land, the chief legislators and administrators of the law, were desirous of enforcing upon the people a due observance of the Lord's-day; but neither the Queen nor the clergy would aid them herein. In 1583, the Lord Mayor of London endeavoured to check the public sports and other nuisances on the Sabbath, and invited the magistrates of the adjoining county of Surrey to aid him, but they failed for want of jurisdiction; and when, in 1585, the Parliament endeavoured to supply their need, and to provide a law for the purpose, the Queen rejected it as an interference with her prerogative, which claimed a sole and undivided rule in all matters of religion.

The judges of the land, meanwhile, attempted to make up, by

orders of assize, the deficiencies of the law; and in 1568 the Lord Chief Justice and ten of his fellows signed an order forbidding all the various profanations of the Sabbath, with which, and their terrible effects in producing crime, they were by experience too well acquainted. The same order was repeated again in 1599, and even in the reign of James I., in the year 1615. Yet James, unhappily, like his predecessor Elizabeth, encouraged and promoted the profanation of the Sabbath, and even so far exceeded what the Queen had done, as to publish the "Book of Sports," in which, by regal sanction, he commended to the people the exercise and enjoyment of a variety of games and other festivities, all of which were in themselves injurious to the morals and welfare of the people, besides being profanations of the Lord's-day. This was a terrible step backwards into Popery; and accordingly, in the following reign—that of Charles I.—when Archbishop Laud was conspiring to betray the nation into Popery again, he pandered to the vices of the people by exciting them to the observance of feasts of dedications of churches, or revel-days, Church-ales, Clerk-ales, Bid-ales, all of which were but so many pretexts for drunkenness and profanity under the mask of religious institutions, and all of them desecrating and abusing the Sabbath.

The strict and even rigid observance of the Sabbath had ever been a proof of Puritan predilections, and a charge of offence against them, so that it will not surprise us to learn that it was, during the period when the power of parliament prevailed, as well as while the Commonwealth existed, guarded and protected by the laws. The Commons, in 1641, resolved, which was then tantamount to enacting, "that the Lord's-day should be duly observed and sanctified," and forbade all profanations of it.

It is a strange exemplification of the contradiction of man's nature to see the moral and religious Charles I. suffering the Sabbath to be profaned at the instigation of Laud, and then to find the profligate and irreligious Charles II. making laws for "the better observation and keeping holy the Lord's-day." By this law all labour and trading were forbidden thereon, and all traffic and travelling on the highways; any persons so travelling, and encountering robbers, were denied any claim on the public for remuneration in consequence of their loss of property; and the service of all legal instruments, except as affecting criminals, is rendered invalid, thereby relieving the day from all such

various means of desecration. This law is still in force, and in many respects is still stringently acted on.

In addition to such distinct acts of the legislature of Great Britain and Ireland as we have already referred to, it is all important to be known, that it is an admitted axiom of British law, pervading all legal proceedings, except such as affect criminals, that Sunday is a *dies non*. In consequence of this principle, no legal proceedings can take effect, or being done can be held valid, for that day, save only in the case of criminals, who may be arrested, but are never examined or proceeded against on Sunday. No witness can be summoned even on that day to give evidence on another; no process can issue, no civil action can be commenced, by writ, or otherwise, on that day; no debtor can be arrested thereon, or being so, he can claim and have his discharge, and have safe conduct from the court where he obtains it, so as not to be again arrested. Thus, in every just and reasonable manner does British law recognise and do honour to the Sunday, as one of the institutions of the land derived from the Divine law itself.

It is, however, worthy of observation that another axiom of British law has been sadly disregarded in legislating for the Sabbath. That axiom is, that the law knows no such thing as the part of a day. It knows a day, and it defines the duration of a day to be a space of twenty-four hours, commencing at midnight, but it recognises nothing less than a whole day as that with which it deals. In this respect our law imitates the example of the Divine one that treats of the Sabbath, and which does not command men to sanctify one part of it, and to use the rest according to their pleasure, but requires the whole to be sanctified and unreservedly dedicated to the uses appointed of God. Yet, unhappily, when our legislators attempt to frame laws respecting the Sabbath, they disregard alike the Divine principle and our own legal axiom, and they divide the day into portions; so that, while they conserve one part to holy uses, they impliedly relinquish the rest to, and indirectly sanction, its profanation.

One of the most recent attempts in this country to legislate respecting the Sabbath was on the motion of Sir J. Walmsley, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, March 20, 1855, when he proposed the following resolution :—"That, in the opinion of this House, it would promote the moral and intellectual improve-

ment of the working classes of this metropolis if the collections of natural history and of art, in the British Museum and the National Gallery, were open to the public inspection after morning service on Sundays." This resolution was advocated by those who spoke in favour of it upon a very deceptive principle, which was thus propounded by Lord Stanley:—"He did not mean to say that a man would learn, in a museum or a picture-gallery, that which would be so important or so valuable to him as what he would learn in church; but he said that, taking it for what it was worth, intellectual and moral improvement was itself a part of religion." Now, the fallacious sophistry here suggested is, that such intellectual and moral improvement as the works of art and nature afford, and which are the aids of civilisation, are also not the aids merely, but, as the speaker pretended, "a part of religion;" whereas the truth is, that while religion imparts intellectual and moral improvement, as the necessary result of her influence, yet her intellectual and moral improvement is of a very different and far nobler quality than any that either art or nature can impart; and that what these last can effect, however conducive and grateful to superstition, which many mistake for religion, is no real accessory or improvement to that only genuine and vital religion revealed in Scripture as essential to man for his salvation and fruition of eternal life. Mr. Pellatt, one of the opponents of the resolution, very ably remarked thus:—"He had mixed a great deal with the working classes, and was of opinion that opening the British Museum and other places on Sundays was taking the wrong course in order to enlighten their minds. What was wanted was, that such places should be open in the evening, and on Saturdays and Mondays, but particularly on Saturday afternoons. A movement for early closing in the city was in progress, and another movement was gaining ground for half a holiday on Saturday afternoon. Unhappy should he be if we lowered ourselves to the standard of France and Germany in the reverence of the Lord's-day; and happy should he be if we could raise them to our standard. There was at present a movement in Paris to lessen the amount of Sunday trading, which was regarded with favour by the French Government. The feeling of the working classes of this country was shown in 1853, when four times as many signatures and petitions were presented for closing the Crystal Palace on Sundays as were presented for

keeping it open." The result of the whole discussion was, that the resolution was decidedly rejected by a majority of 235 to 48, evidencing most strongly the minds of the legislators and of the nation whose representatives they are.

A very different and better directed effort at Sabbath legislation has since been made. On Tuesday, April 17, 1855, a bill for the prevention of unnecessary Sunday trading in the metropolis was presented to the British House of Commons, and a motion made for leave to introduce it by Lord R. Grosvenor, which was seconded by Lord Ebrington, and supported by Sir J. Shelley. The last-named member, who is not one that ever takes a leading part in religious movements, and who is one of the members for Westminster, said, "That a large number of his constituency felt very strongly upon the subject, and he should give his hearty support to the introduction of the bill." It was accordingly introduced without opposition or demur, and was read a first time. A public clamour, however, proceeding even to Sunday rioting, was raised against it, in consequence of which the bill was withdrawn. It never found favour with the religious part of the community, as being inadequate to its purpose; and how little its advocates really had the conservation of the Sabbath at heart is proved by the fact that Lord Ebrington, since its rejection, has given notice of a motion for next session for the opening of the British Museum, and other places of amusement, on the Sunday.

In Scotland, in the year 1837, a very important question was raised, in the discussion of which the whole Sabbath law of Scotland was fully reviewed. It related to the right of a master barber to compel his apprentice to shave on the Sunday. The Scotch law forbids, and consequently exempts apprentices from, all work on the Sabbath, except in cases of "necessity and mercy," so that the whole question rested upon whether shaving was either of "necessity or mercy." The magistrates of Dundee, before whom the case first came, decided against the apprentice, requiring him to shave, but before "ten o'clock"—an assumption of jurisdiction on their part, since there is no such provision in the law. Lord Jeffrey, the Lord Ordinary of the Court of Session, before which the case next came on appeal, reversed the judgment of the magistrates of Dundee, with this most pertinent and important note: "This is the first instance, in so far as the Lord Ordinary is aware, in which a court of law has directly and

positively *ordained* a handicraftsman (without a pretence of necessity or serious urgency) to work at his handicraft on a Sunday; and he certainly is in no way anxious to establish such a precedent." The case was then brought before the second division of the Court of Session, and was there heard by four judges, the chief of whom, Lord Justice Clerk, confirmed the judgment of the Lord Ordinary, but the other three opposing it, entirely on grounds of expediency, it was again reversed. The case was at length brought before the highest court of appeal in the realm, the British House of Peers, whose judgment on it was delivered by the Lord High Chancellor of England, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Brougham, all of whom interpreting and applying the Scotch statutes faithfully, and not suffering themselves to be misled by any questions of policy or expediency, confirmed the right of the apprentice, and in him of all workmen, to the whole of the Sabbath, and thus conserved to Scotland those laws which she has ever jealously revered, although in individual instances they have not been as rigidly observed as they might and should be. The statutes relied upon in the foregoing case were those of 1579, cap. 70, (which refers to a previous one made about the year 1495) and of 1690, cap. 25, of which the Lord Chancellor in his judgment remarks, that they are similar to the laws of England made in the time of Charles II., as already referred to; so that, in fact, the laws of England and Scotland are on this subject coincident, and the laws of Ireland corresponding exactly with those of England, there is in effect but one Sabbath law, and but one legal principle for the observance of the Lord's-day throughout the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. By the course of legislation that has been pursued in England, two objects have been from time to time arrived at; the one, enforcing men to observe and sanctify the Sabbath, by compelling their attendance on the public ordinances of religion—which is, in effect, to endeavour to compel men to be themselves religious and holy; the other, restricting men from misusing the day, and thereby hindering others from their rightful use and enjoyment of it—the nation thus, by its laws, respecting and reverencing, not instituting or authorising (for these are of God and not of man), the divinely-ordained sanctification of the day.

The first of these objects has been attempted by the infliction

of ecclesiastical censures and civil penalties upon such as fail to attend the ordinances of religion. Elizabeth enjoined attendance upon public worship on pain of punishment by Church censures and a fine of twelve pence, and Charles II. revived and re-enforced the same penalties. But such efforts ever have been, and must be, vain. Men cannot be compelled to worship that God whose service is perfect freedom, and the folly of attempting it is like the mistaken zeal of Darius, who decreed that in every dominion of his kingdom men should tremble and fear before the God of Daniel—as if the law of an earthly king could compel men to do that which nothing but a spiritual acquaintance with the King of kings can cause them to know. If ever the laws of Elizabeth and Charles II. were put in force, they have long since become obsolete; and although, like many other statutes which have passed into desuetude, they have not been repealed because their very existence is almost unknown, yet the putting them into operation at the present day would not only be an impossibility, but the very attempt an absurdity. In fact, such legislation as this, which would force men to be religious worshippers, under whatever plea or pretence, is equally vain and absurd. Men may be made hypocrites by it, but never worshippers of that Spirit who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. All such legislation is unprofitable and contemptible, and must assuredly fail of its object, however well-intentioned the promoters of it may be.

But, although no legal restraints or compulsion can make men holy, or even enforce the sanctity of God's holy day, it is an important matter of enquiry how far such means may be employed for the conservation of the day of rest. Some would eschew all legal power whatever, and leave the day to the guardianship of God's law alone, and its moral and religious influence. They contend for this not without some just reason; for, when they urge that man's law can never effect that which God's fails in from man's disobedience, and that we risk the Divine law by interposing the human, it must be admitted that the argument is just in the case of any law attempting to enforce the principle of the Divine one—the keeping holy the Sabbath-day. So again are they right in refusing such laws as either directly or indirectly honour the Sabbath partially, for a partial law immediately leads to the inference that the law allows a partial disregard of the Sabbath. Such, says the Rev. D. Agnew, has been the case in Scotland:

"Traffic in intoxicating liquors, simply as traffic, is illegal on the Sabbath by Scotch law; but the Home Drummond Act, enacting that public-houses should be shut during church hours, was declared to legalise their traffic during the other hours of the day." Such indirect legislation, consequently, is most baneful.

And yet the law of man may be made a faithful and efficient minister of the law of God, by affording protection to those who otherwise might be unable to protect themselves, as in the case of workmen, exemplified by the Scotch barber's apprentice, noticed above; and the late Sir Andrew Agnew, the fearless and uncompromising defender of the Sabbath, in a report of a committee of the House of Commons over which he presided, has so ably stated the principles upon which legislation should proceed, that we will give these in as concise a manner as possible: "The objects to be attained by legislation may be considered to be, first, a solemn and decent *outward* observance of the Lord's-day; and, next, the securing to every member of the community, without any exception, and however low his station, the uninterrupted enjoyment of the day of *rest*. No sound principle of politics or religion can justify the law in refusing to protect one class of society against being compelled to sacrifice comfort, health, religious privileges, and conscience, for the convenience or enjoyment of any other class. It is one thing to enforce the conscience of a man, it is another thing to protect his civil liberty of worshipping God according to his conscience on the Lord's-day, against the avaricious or disorderly encroachments of his unconscientious neighbour." These seem to be the principles upon which Sabbath legislation may safely proceed. It is the working classes who need chiefly to be protected where they cannot protect themselves, and to have their Sabbath conserved to them. "*To be left to himself* on the Sabbath is the working man's claim from a paternal legislature and magistracy. He must rest himself. If he wish recreation, he must recreate himself. He must be restrained from enslaving other men. Other men must be restrained from enslaving him."—(Rev. D. Agnew.) In confirmation of these just opinions we may add that of one whose praise is in all the churches (the Rev. John Angell James) who writes thus: "Men cannot be made pious by Acts of Parliament, nor compelled by statute to worship God. But legislation may be righteously employed in protecting the poor man from oppres-

sion, and from being robbed by the craving, unsatisfied, and remorseless spirit of trade, of his opportunity to give rest to his weary limbs, and to worship his Creator. He looks to our legislators to stand between him and his master, when that master would take from him his day of rest and refreshment." Even our great leading journal, the *Times*, has cautioned the labouring classes against suffering themselves to be misled by pleasure-seeking into Sabbath slavery, thus: "The workman (so acting) will have voluntarily forsaken the usages which he could have pleaded on his own behalf. They who are so eager for jaunting will be not unreasonably presumed to be brisk enough for working, and the seventh day will soon be swallowed, like the thirteenth hour, in the gorge of commercial cupidity." They are further cautioned respecting the injury that their pleasure-seeking does to their fellows: "They expect that all places of legalised entertainment, all public conveyances, all means of recreation should be put at their disposal on these days, with increased facilities and augmented resources. They expect the usual number of servants to be doubled, and exact treble the usual work from each. They are intent on nothing but enjoying their own holiday, and are outrageous in their complaints if the means of such enjoyment are not furnished them at the expense of the holy day of many thousand others." Thus doing, this forcible writer at length concludes, "they would find too late that in the invasion of their neighbours' holy day they had at length sacrificed their own."

II. How was the lord's-day observed thirty years ago?

A striking fact, indicative of the observance of the Sabbath in England thirty years ago, will be found in the composition of the Church congregations at that period. The writer remembers well the regrets expressed at that time by an aged person, herself a zealous and earnest attendant on Divine worship, that so few gentlemen of any age were to be seen in the house of God. Congregations were almost entirely formed of females; and if, as sometimes would occur, some devout-minded man repaired to the place where prayer was wont to be made, to satisfy the arousings of his soul, it would often be under the specious pretext of himself thereby *setting an example* of what others ought to do, rather than doing thus for himself what fashion and the world excused to men so long as their wives and families were attendants on public worship. The want of accommodation in our churches

was one great cause of this neglect. The writer resided in London for the first twenty years or more of his life, commencing with the year 1804, and during the whole of that period his family were never once able to obtain sittings in the parishes in which they resided, those being St. Pancras, St. Margaret's Westminster, and St. Marylebone.

Where there were such extreme want of church accommodation and such consequent habitual neglect of the public worship of Almighty God, it need not surprise us to learn that the holy day of God was otherwise but little regarded, or observed to sanctification. It was, indeed, known as a day of rest and cessation from business and occupation to a certain extent, but only as a holiday, not as a holy day. When an effort was made, about the time referred to, to intrude upon the Sabbath by extending to the metropolis the supposed privilege of rural districts—a Sunday postal delivery—the large body of the attorneys and solicitors of London resisted the proposal, and one plea against it strenuously urged was, that already they had so much overlying correspondence from the week to occupy them on the Sunday, that, if additional came in on that day, their whole time would be taken up in replying to it. From the pressure of business in Parliament during the week, Sunday was considered the day for dinner-parties, and that to such an extent, that those of the King's ministers called Cabinet-dinners, and official meetings of the Cabinets, were noticed in the public papers as ordinary and becoming transactions. What Parliament and the Ministers of the Crown thus set the example in, the Judges and Counsellors of the Courts of Law were ready to follow; and amongst all these classes Sunday was regarded chiefly as the day relieved of business for the purposes of conviviality and enjoyment. Even science herself claimed a portion of the day as her own, and set apart the evenings as most suitable for the assembly of her votaries. The eminent Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, and, more than any subsequent president has been since, the head and chief of the scientific world, was accustomed to throw open his suite of rooms every Sunday evening during the London season, and to hold a learned *converzatione* amongst the savans and literary characters who would assemble there. Nor in country places was the day much better observed. Rustic games, dog-fighting, and bull-baiting, occupied time for which Sunday-

schools had as yet made no adequate provision; while Sunday travelling was so usual, that as many stage coaches and waggons, and even a greater number of post-horses, were engaged upon that day than any other, allowing no cessation from labour, and no opportunity of worshipping God, to all those employed in these occupations.

On this question, in relation to Scotland, Mr. Agnew remarks thus:—"The discipline of the Church requires each congregation to have a roll or catalogue of communicants, no one whose name is not on the roll being allowed to sit down at the Lord's table. Sabbath-breaking, like any other offence against the moral law, exposes the communicant to temporary suspension from Church privileges, or ultimately to the removal of his name from the roll. The watchfulness and faithfulness of Church-courts had greatly relaxed, and in most cases entirely ceased, during the latter half of last century and the beginning of the present. About thirty years ago, symptoms of revival were beginning to appear, and the revival of faithful discipline led to improved Sabbath observance." Scotland, however, strove to keep itself free from the pollution of Sunday travelling; for, notwithstanding that the English Government, about the year 1759, had forced upon the country the running of the Royal Mail on that day, yet none but mail coaches travelled thereon, and other means of conveyance were unemployed.

Of the observance of the Sabbath in Ireland thirty years ago, we have the following interesting communications. Dr. Urwick, of Dublin, whose long experience of Ireland deserves the fullest confidence, thus writes: "Thirty years ago, the Sabbath was much less observed religiously than it is at present. Excursions, or pic-nic parties, by the middle classes, though too frequent now, were much more so then. The upper classes then, more commonly than at present, made calls and entertained parties on the Lord's-day. There is much less of frequenting public-houses for intoxication by the lower orders now than then. Attendance on public worship has very greatly increased within the period referred to. Indeed, this is true as to numbers and apparent earnestness in their way, as it regards Roman Catholics, equally as with Protestants. Sixty years ago, I believe, Sunday in Dublin was as much devoted to pleasure-taking and gaiety, in what would be called 'gentle' life, as any population could be; and their inferiors in rank and means spent the sacred day

in ways that proved them to be as totally without God as were they themselves." Such an account of "gentle" life in the metropolis of Ireland, and of its influence on other classes, will have prepared us to receive the terrible account of the southern part of the country, which Mr. Tarbotten has furnished us with from Limerick, thus: "Thirty years ago, those who know affirm, the profanation of the Lord's-day was *frightful*. By the masses, the day was devoted to brutal dissipation and violence. Drunkenness, hurling matches, and faction fights—associated with which hundreds, nay thousands, would assemble in riotous confusion—were almost universally prevalent on the Lord's-day. Happily, the last two have disappeared, and drunkenness, although too common even now, is not so widely spread nor so brazenfaced as it used then to be." Mr. Shepherd, of Sligo, writes: "I can say nothing of the Sabbath here thirty years since. I believe the general fact to be this, that there is an improvement among Protestants, some amongst Roman Catholics; and this has been the result of the revival of religion in some places at the *commencement* of this century." Mr. Meneely "cannot speak with precision of the manner in which the Sabbath was kept thirty years ago, but believes that among the Protestant churches it was much better observed then than now." Mr. Henderson, of Cork, thus remarks upon the same topic: "On the whole, I would suppose that, during thirty years, matters have improved in reference to the decency with which the Sabbath is ever broken. Thirty years have effected a great improvement in this respect through all society; but whether there is more hearty religious regard to the Sabbath, I will not attempt to say. Perhaps the professors of religion, thirty years ago, regarded it more sacredly than they do now."

Whatever discrepancies may seem to exist amongst the foregoing witnesses as to the state of Sabbath observance thirty years ago in Ireland, are quite reconcileable from considering the peculiarities of that country. Its inhabitants are quite as diversified as its richly-varied scenery: and thus the condition of the north of Ireland is no criterion of the south, nor the east of the west. The evidence of Dr. Urwick and Mr. Tarbotten may be accepted as most faithful witnesses of the general state of the country; while that of Mr. Meneely and Mr. Henderson, which implies better Sabbath observance formerly amongst Protestants than at present, is, unhappily, to be regarded as no

less faithful—since it is to be feared that, in some parts of Ireland, the Reformed religion has not made progress, nor even kept its stand, so well as might have been hoped of it. It must not, however, be feared that this state of things is general or very prevalent; for it cannot be doubted that, on the whole, there has been in Ireland considerable improvement in religious matters, and the better state of the Sabbath generally amongst Roman Catholics, as well as Protestants, abundantly confirms this, and proves that Protestantism is influencing the country, however silently and indirectly.

III. What has been the influence of the revival of Religion on the Sabbath?

This enquiry, referring as it does to the improved state of the Sabbath, as compared with what it was thirty years ago, is but the necessary consequence of that change, which we find confirmed by all who have given their minds to a consideration of it; and, as the fact itself is indisputable, and is most grateful to the religious mind, so it is most natural to reflect upon the influence which the revival of religion itself may well be expected to have had in producing such a result. Nor shall we be at all disappointed. In fact, it is impossible that it should be otherwise. A revival of true religion could not take place without having its influence upon the day which God has hallowed, whether regarded as the Sabbath of God, or the Lord's-day. The sanctifying power of true religion must contribute towards the fulfilling of God's commandments, and all who do so in spirit and in truth, must regard the fourth command of the decalogue as no mere ceremonial law, but as part of that system of moral duties which are incumbent upon mankind, because they are the requirements and the will of the Divine mind. As true religion has prospered and abounded, so has the observance of the Divine institution of the Sabbath proportionally improved. The increased strictness of its observance by the godly, in derision called puritanical and bigoted, but in reality scriptural and righteous, has given rise to manifold discussions respecting the origin and institution of the ordinance, the manner of its observance, and the proper use and service of the day. It is no part of our present enquiry to touch upon any of these, though in passing we may observe that the whole matter thus discussed is comprehended within the very narrowest limits, and that the whole principle of the subject is briefly comprehended, yet most elaborately ex-

pressed, in this saying, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy." We refer to these topics of discussion, however, as showing that the revival of religion has tended towards the better observance of the Lord's-day, and has thereby brought upon itself, in testimony of its faithfulness, that opposition which the truth, in whatever shape it appears, will always have to encounter.

The observations we have made above apply specially to England, but are equally applicable to Scotland, and are confirmed, as regards Ireland, by the following valuable testimonies: Dr. Urwick writes, "No doubt the revival of religion among Protestants has contributed materially to promote Sabbath observance in this country; indeed has mainly, if not altogether, produced what there is of it. The two always go together as cause and effect." Mr. Tarbotten writes, "No religious movement, deserving the name of a revival of religion, has occurred in Limerick; although, blessed be God, there is among nearly all the Protestant communities a decided improvement in spiritual tone, and zeal, and efficiency. This general and gradual improvement has unquestionably contributed to the improved observance of the Lord's-day in general society."

IV. What is the state of England, Scotland, and Ireland with respect to the Observance of the Lord's-day? Has there been Decline or Improvement during the last four years, and in what particular has either been perceptible?

In replying to the first of these enquiries, the palm of merit is justly due to Scotland; for not only has Scotland ever been a Sabbath-loving, Sabbath-keeping country, but it has resisted to the utmost of its power all invasions of the Sabbatical rest that have been from time to time forced upon it. To the shame of England be it recorded with sorrow, that it has compelled in Scotland infractions of the Sabbath law that would otherwise not have occurred. England first forced Sunday travelling upon Scotland, by compelling the running of the mails on that day, and more recently has multiplied the evil in a high degree by insisting on the extension of Sunday railway traffic with Scotland. But for such public intrusions on the day of rest, Scotland is the country in which the Sabbath is better observed than any other; and in which, although not so fully and perfectly observed as it might be, yet is most jealously treasured, most re-

ligiously employed, and most faithfully guarded and protected—so that if left to herself, and not invaded by the speculators of England, she would doubtless have kept herself free from this evil. Although undoubtedly not equal to Scotland in Sabbath observance, and although exhibiting some glaring inconsistencies respecting it, as well amongst the higher as the lowest classes of society, England may well bear comparison in this respect with any other Protestant country; and, on the whole, it may rightly be affirmed that England is a Sabbath-keeping country. Not so, however, Ireland; for the faithful observance of the Lord's-day is altogether uncongenial with the spirit of Popery, which, being ignorant of true spiritual religion and its enjoyments, debases the delight of the Sabbath into worldly vanity and amusements, and superstitiously reverences other days as holy instead of the Lord's-day, thereby teaching for the doctrine of God's law the commandments of men.

The Rev. Dr. Urwick, of Dublin, has favoured me with the following most appropriate remarks: "In the province of Ulster, where the population is chiefly of Scottish descent and Protestant, the Lord's-day is much more religiously observed than in other parts of Ireland. Where Mormonism prevails it is regarded as a day of recreation, except so much time as may be required for attendance on public worship, for which opportunity is given in that communion early in the morning for parties who choose to attend it; and it is rare that any general service is held after the one commencing at twelve o'clock. I am aware of no part of the country where places of public amusement are open on the Lord's-day, as on the Continent, and shops, with other places of business, are usually closed. The Presbyterian and other Evangelical Protestants keep the day more or less strictly, as in Scotland."

In England, during the last four years, there has unquestionably been a great improvement in feelings and principles, if not in actual practice, regarding the Sabbath. Within that period has occurred the grand national exhibition in the Crystal Palace in Hyde-park, during the course of which, whether in the labour of erecting the palace or while the exhibition was open for inspection, no Sabbath profanation of any kind whatever was allowed. So with respect to the successor of the Hyde-park Palace at Sydenham, although attempts have been made to open it and its gardens on the Sabbath, they have been successfully

resisted, and the charter under which it is founded permits no such evil.

One of the greatest proofs of improvement during the last four years has been in the management of the Post-office in several districts. In the metropolis there never has been a delivery of letters on the Sunday; and when, about thirty years since, some proposal of the kind was made, the legal profession, almost to a man, opposed it, and the solicitors and attorneys of London signed a remonstrance against it, which, together with their names, was published in the *Times*, filling many columns of that paper. About four or five years ago, an attempt was made to obtain for the country at large the same exemption from the interference of correspondence on the Sunday that the metropolis enjoys. More than a million signatures were appended to the numerous petitions presented to the House of Commons in this behalf. Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, brought the matter before the House in the form of a resolution, whereon to found a law to that effect. That resolution was accepted and agreed to by the House, but the Government for the time delayed the law. Feeling, however, that public opinion was too strong against them, they set about remedying many of the evils complained of, and which formed very just and forcible grounds for such a law. All the money orders, by which money is sent through the Post-office all over the kingdom, were forbidden to be issued or paid upon the Sunday; thus compelling the Government offices to suspend all these money transactions on that day, as bankers and all other persons are, for amongst private persons the payment and receipt of money are not valid on the Sunday. The post-offices were ordered to be open only for an hour or two in the morning and again in the evening, and never during the customary hours of Divine service. The messengers employed to carry out letters, and accustomed to remain out in their districts the whole day, returning at night and bringing letters back with them, were relieved of the greater part of this duty, and after once going out and delivering their letters, were at liberty to return to their homes and to have the day to themselves; so that men who had not for years had the opportunity of attending their own parish churches are now able to do so; and I see the benefit of this continually, by the presence in church of the messenger of this neighbourhood, who before was unable to be there.

So recently as the 7th of August, 1854, an important law, as

affecting the Sabbath, came into operation. Houses for the sale of wine, beer, and spirits, have always been allowed to be open for the business of their trade, although all others are by the law closed; and this has been permitted on the specious plea of travellers and others requiring refreshment and food. It was but too obvious that but few real travellers took advantage of this liberty, while multitudes perverted it to their own destruction and the desecration of the day. The new law, therefore, has endeavoured stringently to enforce the principle of restriction to *bonâ fide* travellers, and has thereby been productive of very great good by closing these houses a considerable part of the Sabbath. Many magistrates and others have borne testimony to the benefits of this law. Sir R. W. Carden, one of the Aldermen of London, presiding as chief magistrate at the Mansion-house, on April 11, 1855, remarked respecting it thus:—"The most beneficial effects had resulted from this act; and the groups of drunken, idle, disorderly persons, who formerly congregated outside the gin palaces of London, in the after part of Sunday, were not now to be observed. He believed that the law closing the houses all day worked admirably in Scotland, and he had not the slightest doubt that if a similar act were applied to England it would be attended with immense benefit to the public at large, especially the poorer classes, and he was very anxious to see such a measure speedily carried into operation in this country." Such a proposition has been distinctly brought before Parliament in the form of a petition, presented to the House of Lords on Friday, June 15, 1855, by Lord Brougham, and signed by sixty-four magistrates and three clergymen of the county of Derby, praying for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors during the whole of Sunday.

An attempt made last year (1856) to protect tradesmen and others in the full enjoyment of the Sabbath, has failed in consequence of the misrepresentation of its true purport and the undue prejudice thereby excited against it. There exists, unhappily, notwithstanding the laws forbid it, a very large amount of Sunday trading, as well among the higher classes as among the lowest. The higher classes *will* be supplied with articles of a perishable nature on the Lord's-day, and the lowest classes are *compelled* to purchase necessaries on that day, because they do not receive their wages until too late the night before, or only early enough on the Sabbath to supply their necessities. Both

these evils were to be cured by strictly forbidding, and enforcing the forbiddance of, all Sunday trading, so as to liberate tradesmen and their servants from the exactions of the rich, and to obtain for the poor the payment of their wages in sufficient time on the Saturday to prepare for the Sabbath. These were, in fact, the objects aimed at by the projected law, though not insisted on in it; and thus it was a law really for the benefit of tradesmen, their servants, and the labouring classes generally. It was not a law favourably looked upon by those who Scripturally know and honour the Sabbath, for being of an exceptional character, it seemed to permit the profanation of some parts of the day, by not rigidly guarding and protecting the whole of it. But, though certainly liable to this objection, it was undoubtedly a move in the right direction, since its aim, however badly taken, was to improve and increase Sabbath observance; and the vulgar opposition that has been made to it, and by which it was overthrown, was as senseless and mistaken as it was self-delusive and self-enslaving. The mob opponents of this law will be the great losers by its rejection.

Among the rules enacted by the Court of Common Council of London for the New Metropolitan Cattle Market, which was inaugurated by his Royal Highness Prince Albert on the 13th of June, 1855, is the following:—"No cattle, sheep, swine, loads of hay or straw, and no horses, mules, or asses, shall be driven into or out of the market area on Sunday, under a penalty of not exceeding forty shillings." And by the same rules it is further ordered, that, "from and after the opening of the market, no cattle, sheep, or swine, shall be driven on any part of Sunday to or from the market, along any street or road within a radius of seven miles from St. Paul's Cathedral, under a penalty of not exceeding five pounds."

As straws will serve to show which way the wind blows, so the lightsome and gay sayings of our London Charivari, *Punch*, will indicate most powerfully the feelings of the English public respecting their value for the weekly day of rest. Writing against the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sunday, our merry friend thus admirably displayed his philanthropy and jocoseness:—"Our Continental friends are apt to be very merry on the dulness of an English Sunday; they are welcome to all their mirth, so that we keep all our dulness. It is a blessed pause—a healthful breathing time—from the hurry and scramble and

tumult of working-day life. It is a day to look for, a bit of blue in the distance, let the other six days be ever so murky—a bit of Sabbath sunlight gilding the 'sullen ground' of laborious time. To the English Sunday (it is our faith) Englishmen owe no little of that sober, common sense that makes them strong and great among the nations. In Sabbath quiet is reserved a power that, all-unconsciously it may be, manifests itself in the six-days' strife. The Sunday pause, the domestic calmness of the Sunday hearth, where the household gods have their benignest influence, *is* a precious blessing. May it never be scared by the noises that make Vienna so gay and Paris so delightful! Above all, let the six-day slaves of Cockney-land be spared the stunning rap-rap of the postman's knocker. At the Sunday-hearth, at least, let all men say, with the Athenian, *Business to-morrow.*"—Vol. xvii., p. 143.

In Scotland, during the last four years, several circumstances have occurred, evidencing alike the jealousy of the people for the holy day of rest, and the necessity for their being constantly on the watch against encroachments on it. A most important contest has been going on in the courts of law, occasioned by the attempt to run on Sunday a pleasure steamboat on the Clyde, from Glasgow, during the last two or three years. Such an intrusion on the Sabbath was first of all resisted by public opinion. The boatmen along the river refused to land passengers, and at various quays they were forbidden to approach, or touch. At length, not contented with violating God's holy day, they added to their desecration of it by attempting to violate the rights of private property. At the head of a lake, branching off from the Clyde, and called the Gare Loch, is a quay belonging to Sir James Colquhon, the proprietor of the land around, which he had constructed, as well for his own use, as for that of those inhabiting his property. This quay, although guarded against the threatened landing of these Sabbath breakers by strong barriers, was nevertheless forcibly entered upon, and the private rights of its owner invaded. Sir James sought the protection of the courts of law, but in the Outer Court of Session a decision was given against him, on the plea that he had no right to extend his quay out into the public highway of the river. An appeal against this decision was made to the Inner Court of Session, when the former judgment was set aside and the Court decreed that Sir James had a right to forbid persons landing at his quay, and he

is enabled, therefore, so far to resist such encroachment upon his own property, and upon the rest of the Sabbath.

Rev. David Agnew, in a communication received from him, writes, "The principal fact regarding the last four years, is the shutting of the public-houses in the spirit of the ancient law." To understand this, it must be explained that traffic in intoxicating liquors, simply as traffic, is illegal on the Sabbath by Scotch law; but the Home Drummond Act, made about twenty years since, enacting that public-houses should be shut during church hours, was declared to legalise their traffic during the other hours of the day, and thus the original law of Scotland has been overridden. This, however, has been recently set right by a new law, known by the name of the Forbes Mackenzie Act. This, in large towns, has greatly improved the aspect of things and the habits of the people, as was referred to in the observations of Sir R. W. Carden, quoted above. Some very valuable statistics connected with the operation of the Forbes Mackenzie Act have appeared in the *Scottish Press*, an Edinburgh newspaper, and have been reproduced in the *Times*. From this last, the *Times*, we give the following extracts: "The Act of Mr. Mackenzie came into operation on Whit-Sunday, 1854, or nearly eleven months ago. . . . The statistical tables show that drunkenness on the Sundays, during the period in which the Act has been in force, down to the present time, has diminished about one-half."

Of Ireland, during the period now referred to, Dr. Urwick states, "I think that Sabbath observance has improved, rather than declined, during the last four years;" and he farther mentions the following fact bearing upon this point: "For many years past our Zoological Society has opened its gardens to the working classes on Sundays after two o'clock at the charge of a penny. A short time ago a motion was brought forward in our Royal Dublin Society to open its Botanic Garden on Sundays after church hours, but I am happy to say it was decidedly negatived." The Rev. Mr. Tarbotten, of Limerick, writes: "In this city and neighbourhood the Lord's-day is lamentably dishonoured. There has undoubtedly been *improvement*, however, within the last four years. It is manifested chiefly in the following ways, viz., in more general outward decorum; the almost entire cessation of the custom of bands of music, &c., parading the streets; less social visiting and worldly conversa-

tion on that day, than a few years since characterised (strange to say) many, even among professing Christians. The laws forbidding the sale of liquor till after two o'clock, the exposure of goods for sale, the crying and hawking of vegetables, fruit, &c., are much more rigidly enforced now than they were four or five years ago; although still *all* these regulations are fearfully evaded; and in the lower parts of the city the shops, and especially the spirit shops, sell much more on the Lord's-day than on any other day in the week." Mr. Henderson, of Cork, another witness from the south of Ireland, writes: "I think there has been decline during the last four years, and I am certain travelling by railway and steamboat on our river has greatly increased during that time." Mr. Shepperd, of Sligo, writes: "The state of Ireland, with reference to the Sabbath, is *bad*, and must be so as long as it is *Popish*. There has been some improvement during the last four years among the Protestants; none, but rather the *contrary*, amongst the Romanists. The laws have reference to the cessation of business during the hours of Divine service in the Establishment Churches *only*. But I know of no Protestant who keeps open his business place at any time of the day. Roman Catholic butchers and publicans, with confectioners and fruitsellers, do so to any extent they please; *there is no interference with them*." Mr. Meneely furnishes the following testimony respecting the north of Ireland: "I cannot speak of the state of Sabbath observance in Ireland generally, but, so far as my knowledge of the north extends, the Sabbath is respected by the Protestant community. It is *kept*, however, by a comparatively small number with such a degree of sacredness as should characterise it as an ordinance of God. I fear very much that the improvement, if there be any, is not of a very marked or decided kind. One cause operating against the better observance of the Lord's-day in the north of Ireland is the continual influx of Romanists from the south and west into the large manufacturing towns. Latterly there has been a disposition, in some districts, to have the law enforced touching the sale of provisions, &c., by small dealers, and with good effect in several cases. And at present an effort is being made to get an act to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors during the entire of the Sabbath day." Another witness from the north is Mr. Martin, of Derry, who thus writes: "Of course you are aware that during certain hours of the Sabbath public-houses may legally be open for the

sale of spirituous liquors. I am happy that in very few instances in Derry, and these only among the lower classes of Roman Catholic publicans, is this un-Christian law taken advantage of. I am also happy to be able to state, upon the best authority, that in no town of the same size in these kingdoms is the Sabbath better observed than in Derry. No doubt we have Sabbath desecration, too much of it, and to the remedying this evil the Evangelical Alliance in Derry has been and is still applying itself. At the request of a deputation from the Alliance our Christian mayor strictly enforces the law, requiring public-houses to be shut at eleven o'clock on Saturday night. The Alliance have now before them a petition praying the legislature to extend the law lately passed, requiring public-houses in Scotland to be closed during the entire Sabbath, to Ireland. They have also a petition in progress of signature, praying the directors of the Derry and Glasgow steamers to make such arrangements as will prevent the arriving of their vessels on Sundays at Derry. And they hope to be able to get the Derry News-rooms shut on the Sabbath. The Alliance has been, and is likely to be, under the blessing of God, productive of real good in Derry."

V. How has the Lord's-day been observed in your Agricultural Districts, Manufacturing Districts, Upper, Middle, and Lower Classes?

The Rev. Robert Newstead, who, as a Wesleyan Minister, has been stationed at different times, as well in agricultural as in manufacturing districts in England, and who has, moreover, had opportunities of observing the manner in which the Sabbath is kept amongst all classes, and from taking great interest in the question, has constantly done so, gives the following brief, yet comprehensive reply to the enquiry, as to how the Lord's-day has been observed in the various districts and classes referred to above. "In both agricultural and manufacturing districts, I should say, *increasingly*, rather than the contrary. Amongst the several classes enumerated, I should say, best among the middle class, next among the upper, and least among the lower." This, with exceptions in both districts, and in each class, may be regarded as a fair general state of Sabbath observance in England. Rev. David Agnew, writing from Scotland, enters more particularly into the subject than Mr. Newstead does, but his remarks, respecting the districts, are equally applicable to England and Scotland. "No agricultural labour is done on the Sabbath,

except necessary attention to horses and cattle. The fattening of cattle, however, detains numbers of men from public worship, and the long hours of labour lead the people to postpone their visits to relations, and their private business, to the Sabbath-day, in too many cases. None of the factories worked by water or steam work on the Sabbath, but iron-works blaze away, night and day, without a moment of rest." The pretence made for working these latter, is the great *loss* of heat—that is, in fact, of wealth, which commands heat, by the long cessation from use on the Sabbath. To the honour of one great iron master at West Bromwich, near Birmingham, it deserves to be recorded that, having persisted conscientiously in not working on the Sabbath, whatever might have been the loss anticipated, he was enabled to state before a committee of the House of Commons, as the result of his experience: "We have made rather more iron, since we stopped on Sundays, than we did before. . . . Our workmen, labouring for six days, with one day of rest, make more iron than if they worked incessantly, without a day of rest." At first there was some loss in consequence of the furnaces standing still and cooling during so many hours, but the skill and good management of the foreman of the works overcame this, so that, eventually, they made thirty tons a fortnight more than before the extra standing on the Sabbath. The name of the foreman is Mr. B. Davis, and that of his employers Messrs. Bagnall, one of whom, Thomas Bagnall, Esq., thus characteristically propounds the principle, both of his action, and his success. "The simple truth is, it requires an *inflexible determination*, come what will, to stop; and then, by some attention at first, it becomes easy." This we apprehend to be, under the Divine blessing, the sure and safe means of success in all such righteous observance of God's laws; and to all who may unhappily be otherwise minded, this example of a faithful resolution may be held up, with the exhortation of Our Lord, "Go, and do thou likewise."

With respect to the classes referred to in Scotland, Mr. Agnew remarks, "The middle and lower classes, when under efficient pastoral superintendence, are the best living examples of Sabbath observance. The upper classes (especially men of standing) defer to their wishes as to external quietness, even where they differ from their opinions. But large masses in our cities are without pastoral instruction and influence."

Ireland is to be spoken of only as an agricultural country, its manufacturing districts being very small. Mr. Tarbotten, of Limerick, writes, "In the agricultural districts around us, worldly pleasure, it is to be feared, is the chief occupation of the vast majority on the Sabbath." Mr. Shepperd, of Sligo, thus pointedly relates both the manner and the cause of observing the Sabbath in Ireland: "The agricultural districts being *intensely* Popish, mass is attended, and thus the Sabbath is kept. The *rest* of the day is devoted to idleness and amusement, and, in pressing seasons, to field works. A Roman Catholic would much sooner work on Sunday than on a *holy day*." Mr. Meneely, writing from the north of Ireland, where alone any manufactures exist, observes, "the Lord's-day is very much better kept in the rural than in the manufacturing districts, many who live in the latter urging the plea, that being confined through the week they may, without any breach of the Sabbath, walk or drive into the country in order to breathe the fresh air."

With respect to the various classes in Ireland, Mr. Tarbotten observes, "Among *all* classes the Lord's-day is most deplorably profaned: perhaps the most emphatically so among the lowest. Visiting, feasting, amusement, travelling into the country, newspaper reading, &c., prevail to a large extent among nearly all ranks." Mr. Henderson, of Cork, writes, "Our upper classes attend church, drive their carriages, and have their dinner parties. The middle classes enjoy the walk, the rail, or the boat. Our lower Irish sing and dance and fight. Sometimes a total abstinence ball, or tea party, diversifies the amusement." From Sligo Mr. Shepperd writes, "The upper classes all attend worship, so do the middle; the defalcation is in the *lower class of Protestants*. There is some little improvement among them, and this is nearly as much as you can expect where there is no vital religion."

VI. What have your Churches or Private Associations done for the Sabbath?

The Churches of Great Britain may be said, one and all, to be jealous for the conservation of the Sabbath; and although there have been discussed in some of them the principles of its original foundation—those of its precise nature and character; those of its observance, and the degree of strictness or ease with which it should be kept and used—yet all agree religiously in its being the holy day of the Lord; the day for the refreshment

of man, both in body and soul, and the most valuable adjunct of religion, as endearing to all—high and low—rich and poor—one with another; that stated and ever-recurring period of man's life, when he may withdraw himself from the world into this temporary Heaven below; and by separation from the cares and anxieties of life, and communion with his God—whether in the great congregation; in the church; in his house; or in the chamber of his own heart—may enjoy a foretaste of the rest which remaineth for the people of God. In Scotland, even more than in England, where the Presbyterian form of church-government, with its more vigilant system of discipline, prevails, Sabbath observance is faithfully guarded and enforced, and there is no religious institution more jealously and earnestly preserved and exercised than this by the Churches of that land. Indeed, as Rev. D. Agnew writes, "The Church-courts, besides watching over their people, are the most efficient associations for promoting memorials to public bodies, petitions to Parliament, &c."

But besides the action of the Churches in defence and conservation of the Sabbath, there are, in all parts of the kingdom, various associations for protecting and promoting its due observance. In England, there is in the metropolis "*The Society for Promoting the due Observance of the Lord's-day*," established in 1831. In the year preceding 1831, the Bishop of London addressed a letter to the inhabitants of London and Westminster, calling their attention to the desecration of the Lord's-day which then prevailed; and sermons on the subject were preached throughout the dioceses, pre-eminent among which was a valuable volume published by the present Bishop of Calcutta. By these means, public attention was drawn to the subject, so that, in the following year, viz., 1831, an association was formed under the auspices of Joseph Wilson, Esq., who, until his recent decease, was one of the secretaries of it. The society endeavours to effect its object, in dependence on the Divine aid, by the circulation of appropriate tracts; through the medium of the pulpit; by the holding of public meetings, to give information; by the formation of associations in towns or parishes; by promoting petitions to Parliament; by memorials and deputations to public authorities; by addresses to heads of families, tradesmen, and others—and, in short, by all available means they can employ. This society has been, and is, a most ad-

mirable and efficient agent, and, during the time it has existed, has done most efficient service in the cause it advocates. It is impossible here to indicate even its successes and efforts; and all that we can do is, to refer those who desire to know more respecting it to a most interesting and valuable volume, "Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's-day," by its very able secretary, Rev. John T. Baylee.

Besides the parent society now described, there have arisen in the provinces many others in connection with it, as an auxiliary at Derby, with seventy associations in the county, in the years 1834-5; and in succeeding years they multiplied, and spread themselves throughout all the principal cities and districts of the land, as at Bath, Bristol, Liverpool, and numerous other places. More recently, there has originated in the north of England a new institution of a similar character, which bears the title of "The North of England Sabbath Alliance." It is, in fact, a renovation of a society, that had already existed at Newcastle, called "The Lord's-day Society," upon a more comprehensive basis—this, in fact, being its chief distinction; and doubtless in this, as in every other instance, it will prove that union is strength, and that the united efforts of the Churches in defence of this, their common boon and blessing, will materially aid their cause.

In Scotland there have arisen, from time to time, many similar associations. In 1839, "The Scottish Society for Promoting the due Observance of the Lord's-day" was formed, under the presidency of the late Sir Andrew Agnew, and, in its turn, propagated others, more particularly a "Young Man's Society" in Edinburgh, in order to enlist the youth of the land in this righteous cause. Subsequently there arose "The Sabbath Alliance," comprehending, as its name denotes, that union of Christians, which, since the origin of the Evangelical Alliance, has been so frequently and so happily employed in the promotion of the common blessings of Christianity. At Glasgow was formed, in 1849, "The Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association," which had its origin in one of the most interesting and energetic movements amongst the labouring classes, in defence of this, their choicest earthly blessing, that has ever been known. It occurred to the philanthropic mind of John Henderson, Esq., of Park, Glasgow, that, if the working men of Great Britain and Ireland could be themselves engaged to write in favour of the

Sabbath, they would not only be its most strenuous defenders, but would themselves be urged and encouraged, as a class, to appreciate its benefits more highly, and to observe its privileges more faithfully. To test this idea, he offered prizes for the three best essays written by working men, which produced an amount of competition utterly unexpected and unprecedented. The adjudicators were astounded and overwhelmed with the labour that presented itself before them, when they beheld an accumulated mass of essays, contributed by 1,045 writers! To read five essays a day, carefully and judicially, it required 209 days, or about eight months! Every species of labour, from the intellectual printer to the plodding farm labourer, contributed its share to this earnest work of love; for all were animated, less with a desire to win the prize offered, than with a desire to defend that blessing of rest, for which labour creates a healthy and a happy appetite. In addition to the three chief prizes originally given by Mr. Henderson, and which were of the value of £25, £10, and £5, the Christian public provided 100 more of £5 each—ten of which were given by Prince Albert; one by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the rest by various noble and Christian persons. There is no doubt, in fact, that the effect of this movement was most beneficial to the labouring classes, and to their interest in the blessings connected with the Sabbath.

The Evangelical Alliance, from its first formation, has always made the Sabbath one of the main objects on which to concentrate the best feelings and energies of its members and of Christendom; and it is, at the present time, offering the sum of £100 for the best essay that shall be written by the month of March, 1856.* Through the agency of the Alliance, attention is frequently called to the subject, where there is no other association in aid of it. This is particularly the case in Ireland, where, with the exception of the Presbyterian Sabbath Committees, as at Londonderry, Belfast, and other places, there are no other associated agencies devoted to the better observance of the Lord's-day.

[In bringing these notices to a conclusion, we must beg pardon for having extended them to such a length, more particu-

* [Since this sentence was written, the prize has been adjudged to the Rev. Micaiah Hill, Birmingham; and his Essay is about to be published as a Companion Volume to the "Prize Essays on the Papacy and Infidelity."—Ed.]

larly the first part of this report, relating to the legislation affecting the Sabbath. Our reason for doing so was, that in these countries we have had much experience, both as to the framing, and the execution of laws of this nature, and it seemed probable that this kind of information might be of especial service in countries where such legislation has hitherto been untried. We would, however, entreat that our voice may be heard, not only by the assembled Alliance, but in echoes throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, proclaiming to all men, that if we, as a nation and people, have anything valuable and precious, either in our institutions or our policy, we owe it, under God, to the chastening influence of religion, the grand opportunity for disseminating which is the hallowed day of rest, appointed for this purpose by God himself at the Creation, and re-instituted as the Lord's-day by the resurrection of Christ from the dead as our justification and life.]

A GENERAL VIEW OF MODERN INFIDELITY.

BY THE REV. E. PRESSENSÉ, PASTOR OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH, TAITBOUT.

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August 24.—*Church of Redemption.*

It is impossible to trace, in a few pages, the complete history of modern Infidelity. Unhappily the subject is too fruitful to be thus quickly disposed of. We intend only to seize its proper character, and to appreciate its general influence. It must not be concealed that anti-Christianity developes itself in frightful proportions. It is rising like a terrible sea and lashes every shore. We know where its proud waves will break powerless; but we cannot tell what they may carry away before they reach that point. The Christian Church, by which term we mean the association of all those who truly believe in Jesus Christ, must, at whatever cost, keep a strict eye on this threatening invasion from Infidelity. It is not enough to cry out in terror, or in pious indignation. She must engage in a more formidable battle than has ever yet been sustained by her; and take up her position on the point where the strife must close. She should also inquire what part of the responsibility of such a state of things belongs to herself.

There are two classes of Infidels. There are men who do not believe, but who have not adopted any party; who wish to believe and are seeking after Truth. These will come to the faith. They are only passing through the region of doubt. They are not settled, not installed in any way in Infidelity. They are not the adversaries of Christianity. They are strangers to it. There is a hope, that when better informed they will yield to the truth. Such a state of mind demands our respect. There is another class who, so far from feeling any regret at not believing, glory in it; who, intoxicated with their system, openly declare themselves the enemies of the Gospel; who attempt to tear it in pieces, and rail at what they are not able to destroy. This is the Infidelity which constitutes anti-Christianity, and it

is this of which we intend to speak. It has its source in the heart of man; at bottom it rests on a fixed determination not to believe, and even not to examine. It is a revolt of the will rather than of the mind. Whenever you take a direct aim at the corrupt heart of man, you are sure to strike it. That Infidelity which is conscious of itself has always the same moral principle, whatever the diversity of its manifestation. It will, however, be useful to point out its different forms, and to examine that which is peculiar to it, in each century. All who are opposed to Christianity are subjugated by the existing predominant form of Infidelity. They are delighted to find ready made to their hands a formula which expresses their antipathy to the severe religion of Jesus Christ. It saves them the trouble of constructing a system; they have one already constructed; and it secures to them the double advantage of idleness and independence. If Deism is the vogue at any given time, all the opponents of Christianity recite the creed of Natural Religion. If the preponderancy is in favour of Pantheism, they, for the same reason, profess the worship of the Absolute. Water will always run in the channel which has been dug for it. Nothing is more scarce among even superior minds than originality and individuality. There are as many docile sheep under the crook of Infidelity as under that of superstition. It is, therefore, of immense importance to determine which is the predominant form of contemporary anti-Christianity.

It must be acknowledged that, in taking its present position, it has manifested a boldness which it never showed before. Our epoch is great, by its candour. Every institution, every doctrine, openly avows its real nature and object. That which used to be spoken in secret is now proclaimed on the house-tops. As Evangelical Christianity is tending more and more towards its original state, and disengaging itself from every foreign element which injures it; as, in like manner, superstition reaches its last consequences, and professes boldly the idolatry which it had hitherto more or less disguised, so Infidelity throws off every veil, casts away all caution, and openly proclaims those doctrines which it formerly only stammered out mysteriously in its learned theories. It has spoken the truth; we will have no other God but man. It is not possible to imagine any further progress remaining to be made; in the mischievous circle within which it moves it must be acknowledged that it has reached perfection.

By what means has it attained to that point? What road did it take? What circuit has it made? These are the questions to which we must briefly reply.

Deism was more especially the form which Infidelity took in the eighteenth century. It first appeared in England. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Tolland, Collins, and Woolston, were its apostles. The religious quarrels of the seventeenth century had left a great weariness in the public mind. England, issuing triumphantly from her formidable struggle with Popery, had gone to sleep over her victory. The level of piety everywhere fell, and Christianity, become essentially an object of intellectual speculation, lost more and more its true character. The political immorality which characterised that sad epoch is an evident proof of this feebleness of religious sentiments. What is commonly called English materialism took the place, in many minds, of the energetic faith of the Fathers. Revelation was denied in the name of those natural laws which the Creator himself, as the adversaries said, had not the power of suspending. From England Deism was quickly imported into France, and found there a soil favourable to its development. In many respects, the moment was propitious for its cause. The reign of Louis XIV. had just ended; the nation, oppressed in every way, felt intensely the want of independence; and unable to procure it in political affairs, took its revenge on the domain of religion. Those who have read the history of that period, especially the memoirs of St. Simon, know full well what a yoke was laid on the public mind during the last twenty years of the reign of Louis XIV. France —for then the Court was France—was obliged to observe a demure behaviour; to bridle its vivaciousness and to practise a puerile devotion, in order to escape the displeasure of its master, or rather of the Sovereign *par excellence*—that clever and harsh woman who succeeded in marking with her own stamp one of the phases of our national history. Madame de Maintenon and the Christian religion are disagreeably associated in the remembrance of those who lived under the rod of this devout fairy-queen, as she is called by St. Simon. When consequently, by the death of the king, these chains were snapped asunder, the violence of the outbreak was beyond all conception. But the Regency was more an orgy than anything else. Libertinage occupied men's attention more than the discussion of philosophical questions. It was at a later period that hatred to Jesuitical bigotry manifested itself in anti-Chris-

tian theories. These were introduced by Voltaire, who learned them in England. Transforming, in a manner, English ideas into light arrows, he gave them the rapidity and *éclat* of his inexhaustible mind and the fire of his passionate nature. We do not intend to say that Voltaire lost in England his belief in Christianity; everybody knows that he had none to lose. We only mean that he found there an arsenal ready furnished for his war against Christianity. He contented himself with giving the weapons the polish they needed, and wielded them with a dexterity which made them appear in his hands entirely new. They were, however, the same as those employed by Bolingbroke and Tolland. At the bottom Voltaire's system is a certain undefined Deism; sometimes eclipsed by the enthusiasm of polemical dispute, but always definitively emerging again. He popularised it by history, by the pamphlet, the novel, and by poetry; if that can be called poetry which is the destruction of the supreme ideal —Christianity. His luminous and sparkling style gave to his ideas those charms by which the French character is most easily captivated. Our object, however, is not to appreciate the influence of Voltaire. We simply intend to put in a clear light the most prominent feature found in the variety and multiplicity of his writings.

The negative side is much more perceptible in his character than the positive. He laboured much more zealously to overthrow Christianity than to build up Deism. He sought above all to render the Gospel ridiculous. He left to others the task of finding the doctrine that should replace it. Rousseau became the apostle of this mission. Indeed, Rousseau's influence is that which predominated at the end of the 18th century. No doubt, without Voltaire, he would not have acquired that influence. If he had encountered the majestic edifice of the Christianity of the 17th century, such as Bossuet made his contemporaries accept, Rousseau would not have obtained so universal an approbation. But Voltaire had overthrown that edifice amidst the shouts of laughter of a generation, irritated by its recent bondage, and fascinated by the great enchanter who expressed so marvellously its thoughts and its desires. Fifty years of laughter begets fatigue. It was at such a moment that Rousseau appeared with his eloquent sentimentalism and incomplete, but brilliant spiritualism; satisfying at once the still-existing antipathy to a revealed religion, and the cravings of the

religious emotions, which will, in the end, re-appear in the human breast. In spite of his parodoxes and misanthropy, he became the favourite writer of the latter part of the 18th century. His influence was not only felt in the literature, but in the morals and the prejudices of that singular epoch, which preluded the bloody scenes of the Revolution by an idyl on humanity.

If the speeches made by the deputies of France in the States General be read from a philosophical and religious point of view, it will be seen that they all run in the current of Rousseau's ideas. The two celebrated Revolutionists, of 1793, stand also in close relationship to him, and the programme of the festival held in honour of the Supreme Being appears to have been traced by his hand; but no one has a right to to lay to his charge the abominations committed by his disciples. It is evident, then, that at the close of the last century, Deism triumphed in France through Rousseau.

We embrace this opportunity to correct an opinion expressed last year at the Kirchentag at Frankfort, by a man whom no person honours more than ourselves. According to Professor Hundeshagen, that adoration of man which is the great heresy of the present time, and which finds its most fervent adherents in Germany, is to be attributed to Rousseau. We do not deny that he helped to excite the pride of man, and to replace the Christian ideal by a human ideal. He may, in this manner, have contributed to swell the humanitarian current. But if France, by means of Rousseau, furnished German anti-Christianism with some of its elements, it must be confessed that this has been repaid in a most liberal manner. We shall always make a great difference between the profession of faith of the Savoyard vicar and the systems professed by Pantheists. The French philosopher professed the idea of a personal God and a moral law. No doubt this makes him the more specious and the more dangerous, but it would not be just to confound this incomplete spiritualism with those theories which identify in an elaborate manner the creation with the Creator. Still it must be avowed that the Deism of Rousseau was the last word of the eighteenth century. The Holbachs and the Diderots, who did not shrink from openly professing Atheism, formed the extreme left of the philosophy of the day. Atheism, indeed, has always had its disciples in France; but formerly it was considered as a vice; it had not obtained the right of citizenship. It did not walk with so bold a front, and

with such swelling words, as afterwards. The eloquent Deism of Rousseau could alone respond to the current ideas by giving them a passionate and often a magnificent expression.

Let those who condemn, and condemn with reason, the eighteenth century, not forget, in order that they may be just in their severity, under what form Christianity then presented itself to its adversaries. Let them not forget Port Royal sacked, and its dead thrown on the high roads; nor that revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the mention of which is sufficient to recall one of the greatest crimes of Popery. Such recollections will inspire us with more of pity than of indignation for the men who, in the excitement of passion, confounded the religion of Jesus Christ with that which passed under its name, and who imagined that, in order to obtain liberty of conscience, it was necessary to overthrow those doctrines which had been misused to stifle it. Perhaps, when we shall have considered the course pursued by Infidelity since the days of Rousseau, we shall be led to acknowledge that he manifested some moderation in his opposition to Christianity.

It is important to define clearly the character of the anti-Christianity of the last century, in order to show distinctly what progress it has made in this. We have already said that the Infidelity of the nineteenth century is not Deistic, but Pantheistic. It was impossible for it to be otherwise. Given, Deism: Pantheism must be the solution by an irresistible logical necessity. Deism contains as many difficulties to the view of Reason as does Christianity. It has also its enigmas, without those Divine solutions which the Gospel brings to the burdened heart and the awakened conscience. How could any person be long satisfied with that idle divinity, lost in the depth of heaven, as in an immense solitude, never coming forth from his repose, whatever may be the suffering of his creatures? Why call them into existence if only to abandon them? What motive could have induced this immoveable God to have created the world at any given moment? One is lost in contradictions; but we ask more especially, what is the use of such a God, and of all inutilities is he not the greatest? He does so well without us in his cold dignity, why may we not do without him? Nothing more logical than such a conclusion. Learned Germany has clearly demonstrated that; and here we must be allowed to refute an unjust prejudice. It would appear, from the language of some

persons, that it was Germany which called modern Infidelity into existence. Nothing can be more untrue. She has boldly accepted the consequences of principles already laid down. This is her sin or her merit. The German mind is essentially logical. It possesses all the intrepidity of free thought, and accepts all the consequences of a proposition stated. Nothing stops it in the domain of ideas. Doubtless, when the premises are false, it draws disastrous consequences; but is this so great an evil? Is it not for the interest of truth that error should be entirely unmasked? Nothing is more dangerous than those timid errors which walk slowly, and by this slowness of pace deceive many minds. Let us add that, if Germany has drawn the extreme consequences of the philosophy of the 18th century, she has also, in other directions, prepared the triumphs of true Christianity. If she has given Pantheism its boldest and most consistent form of expression, she has also written its most powerful refutation. That refutation is found in the writings of its great Christian doctors, who have admirably reconciled the claims of religion with those of science. Certainly the works of the Neanders, Tholucks, Julius Mullers, and of Dorners, offer an ample compensation for the frightful writings of her anti-Christian philosophy. It was necessary to make this exception, before pointing out the part which Germany has taken in the development of modern Infidelity.

Germany, in the last century, accepted English Naturalism with great facility. She was prepared for it. The living energetic faith of Luther had been succeeded by a barren theology, consisting of nothing but formulas. Christianity had become a business of the school, and the scholastic doctors of the 17th century succeeded in cooling down the glorious fire of the preceding century. It was certainly for this period that the name "dead orthodoxy" was invented. Religion was regarded exclusively in an intellectual point of view. The greater part of the theologians of those evil days may be called the rabbis of Protestantism; mad on the letter of the Reformation, they sacrificed its spirit, the spirit which alone can give life. God raised up a man to bring about an efficacious re-action against this petrified Christianity. This was Spener, who advocated the right of universal priesthood, and declared that formulas, without the Spirit of God, are just like the dry bark of a tree. Pietism exercised an immense influence, but unfortunately, it

kept too much aloof from science. It thought too little of theology. Like all re-actions, it went too far. It provided little Christian culture for the mind, and was ill-prepared to resist the attacks made by Naturalism on Revelation. Naturalism was at first imported by a few isolated individuals. It found a powerful support in the French and Voltarian influence at Berlin. Little by little it spread throughout all Germany, and the ancient faith of the Reformation was everywhere obliged to beat a retreat. The genius of Germany impressed its character on Deism. It made it a learned system, without making it profound. English Naturalism became German Rationalism. Patronised by the greatest poets of Germany, who cast around it the gorgeous mantle of a superior poetry, and taught in the Universities, it infested a whole generation, which was fashioned in its image, and bore its resemblance. The decline in moral and patriotic feeling shows what bitter fruit this seed of death bore, even in the most generous soils. Painful experience proved how closely noble and Christian sentiments are bound together, and that it is impossible to presume the first, in the absence of the second. The humiliations to which the country was subjected awakened conscience, and re-animated the religious feelings, which easily vibrate in a country which was the cradle of the Reformation. This happy revival does not belong to our subject; and, notwithstanding the pleasure it would afford us to pursue it, we must turn towards the dark and sorrowful side of Germany.

German Rationalism, on becoming more learned, became more pitiful. Nothing in the world is so despicable as that Rationalism, so properly called vulgar Rationalism. It did not rend the Gospel like the audacious criticism which it had replaced; it acknowledged in general terms its authenticity, but found means of paring it down to its own dimensions. It made a religion to its own measure; earthly, egotistical, carnal, vulgar, like itself. Jesus was the philosopher of Nazareth, the Jewish Socrates—the good news of the Gospel nothing more than the catechism of the worthless morality of the world. Deism thus presented, without the eloquence of Rousseau, or the witty rapture of Voltaire, justified by a timid and embarrassed exegesis, must soon have disgusted that noble nation which has never been accused of keeping too near the earth. There were two issues from this deplorable state of things—Christianity or speculative philosophy. The

latter was chosen by a large number of vigorous and independent minds. Already Kant had led the way.

No person has greater respect than ourselves for that masculine philosophy of duty which is so capable of infusing new strength into enfeebled hearts. We are even persuaded that, in the principles laid down by Kant, the elements of a powerful apology for Christianity are to be found. Unfortunately, he drew other consequences, and after having proved the vanity of pure logic and based moral certainty on moral conscience, he concluded in favour of a Deistical Naturalism in his famous book, "Religion within the Limits of Reason." But the help which he brought to Deism was its death. In fact, Kant drove in the first stake on the road which led to philosophical Pantheism, when he declared that there was nothing absolutely certain but the proscription of conscience. From this it must be inferred that the human conscience alone possessed a real value. It was only another step to the proclamation of the divinity of the *Ego*.

This is not the moment to show how intimately those systems are linked together, by which, from Kant to Fichte, from Fichte to Schelling, and from Schelling to Hegel, Pantheism was elaborated. It is sufficient to say that it found its perfect formula in *Hegelianism*. This system declares, in distinct language, that human reason is the supreme form of the divinity. Advancing from kingdom to kingdom, it reaches at last the pure light of thought. It runs through the entire circle of the universe, and fills it from a stone up to man. As human reason is the supreme form of divinity, to study human reason is to study God; the laws of reason are the laws of the world. Every man has within himself a copy of the laws of creation. Let him study it carefully, and the links of his thoughts will reveal to him the links of being. No more liberty, nor divine personality, nor superior world. God is the world, and the world is God; above all, man is God; for he is the focus of the universal mind, which only reaches his own conscience but by his reason. Nothing is more barren in appearance than this system; but if closely examined, it is seen how it satisfies that greedy desire of the human heart, that frantic pride which makes it pant to be a god. We shall never forget the strange impression made on us whilst listening, in a German university, to one of the most faithful disciples of Hegel. The apparent contrast between the subject which he treated and the manner in which he developed it was most

striking. He spoke with warmth, even with passion; one would have thought that he was dealing with the most important interests, whilst, in fact, he was only expounding the Hegelian logic; a logic which pushes abstraction so far as to make you feel that you are in pure emptiness. It shows, after all, that nothing is so capable of inflaming man's passions as the thought of dethroning God and adoring himself in the laws of human reason. He smells a delicious incense through those cold and dry logical analyses; he feels that by means of those categories he builds an altar to himself. This is sufficient to induce him to put up with metaphysics the most barren, and even to inspire him with enthusiasm for them. There is an intoxication of the thoughts as well as of the senses, which is only felt on the highest summit of a speculative philosophy.

The most gigantic labours have been multiplied in order to establish the system of Hegel. Vast science has been pressed into its service. At first it essayed to walk in harmony with Christianity, or at least it tried to make people believe in such a harmony, by explaining its doctrines. Happily this was not possible for any length of time; for it may be truly said that it embraced them only to strangle them. What can be more opposed to each other than a religion of love and obedience and a philosophy of pride and fatalism? Whilst some prudent writers continued the attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable, and to wrap their pantheistic formulas in biblical expressions, in order to give them a passport, the younger party of the school openly broke with Christianity. Then appeared a book ever to be celebrated in that impious literature, which began with Celsus and Lucian, and enriched itself from every age with some new calumny against the Gospel. Here it had no calumny, but a pure and simple suppression of facts. It was not Strauss' wish to contest the authenticity of certain portions of the Book. The book itself was placed in the ranks of the Sibylline books. The historical facts evaporated in myths. Strauss gathered, as into one quiver, all the arrows which German theology had shot against the inspired historians. He assembled the whole *posse comitatus* of criticism. With superior talents, he was able to discipline this confused army; he gave unity to its march; he made it advance inflexibly under his standard, which was no other than the most avowed pantheism. What do you tell us of the historical Christ? He is the child of your dreams; the

fruit of your imagination. You need not go so far to find the man-God; each of you is a son of God, just as the prophet of Nazareth was, if ever he existed. What Strauss attempted against an historical Christ, another party has attempted against the primitive Church. The Tubingen school, led on by a learned theologian, endeavoured to prove that the greater part of the books of the New Testament are forged; that they were written at a date much later than that presumed. According to this system, Christianity was at first identical with Judaism, but gradually broke away from it under the influence of Grecian culture. It is an amalgamation of Jewish ideas and Greek philosophy. The Gospel, falsely attributed to St. John, is the most remarkable production of this syncratism. This school, notwithstanding the annihilating discovery for them of the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus, still does battle against Christianity, and endeavours, although with some qualifications, to rob it of its originality. This system also defends the cause of Pantheism. But these follies are well-nigh passed away.

To what extremes Bruno Bauer and Feuerbach have gone, is well known. Strauss had acted cautiously towards Christianity. He considered it an admirable myth, a magnificent parable. Pantheistic philosophy would not allow it even this honour. The young extreme-left Hegelian party, encouraged by the success of "*The Life of Jesus*," issued their manifesto. Feuerbach published his book on "*The Essence of Christianity*." This is a tissue of blasphemies coldly uttered; a hateful diatribe against whatever is beautiful and holy. Feuerbach asserts that Christianity, in its entireness—beginning with the idea of a God, and finishing with its most distinctive doctrines—is the simple and pure production of the mind of man, which expresses the different phases of its inward life by the doctrines of the Gospel. Christianity is nothing else but a symbolical manifestation of the human I. The ideas of a Deity, of immortality, of duty, are so many dreams without reality. There is nothing real in all this but humanity, the only object of rational faith. This, even, was allowing too much. The idea of humanity is too abstract, too general. Feuerbach, according to his successor, is a devotee. Every one should rest in his own individuality. This is the only truth which can defy attack. Having reached this point, philosophy has only now to die. Mr. Max Stirner has taken on himself to draw up the certificate of its death;—grievous and dis-

graceful end of that great speculative movement, inaugurated by the most powerful geniuses, thus to come to an abortion in the negation of all speculation, and the most cynical materialism. So true is it, that error carries in itself its own punishment, and pours out the poison that kills it.

We shall now have to appreciate the influence of this Pantheistic philosophy on other nations. Up to the present time it has made but little progress except in France. In England Infidelity has lifted its head more boldly than ever; but it is behind the age—it is still Deistic. Newman does not differ materially from the Deists of the seventeenth century—unless it is in the violence of his attacks on the person of Jesus Christ. It is, however, easy to perceive the time when these laggers-behind of the Anti-Christian philosophy will rejoin the body of the army. In America Unitarianism is beginning to allow Pantheism to penetrate its ranks. Parker has already borrowed its language; Emmerson professes its principal ideas. There is one country in which its influence has been the most felt, although she has often affected to resist it—that country is France. We meet this influence not only in the learned theories which have been constructed in imitation of the German philosophy, but also in most of the systems of social organisation which have been broached, and still more so in the general current of ideas. The Deism of Rousseau has been continued, and that not without *éclat*, by a school which will leave more profound traces in the literary than in the philosophical world. The eclectic school has adopted the confession of the *Savoyard Vicar*, to give it a speculative basis. This is so true, that when, in the day of social peril, its disciples wished to address the people, they knew of no better way to do this than by reprinting the manifesto of Rousseau. I know well that for a long time they professed infinite respect for Christianity; they saluted it whenever they met it; but a haughty irony was concealed under these outward marks of deference. The homage was offered to political power, not to religion. Eclecticism imagined, by its affected eulogies of Christianity, to scatter flowers on its grave! Thank God! this school has become more sincere. It has, in the person of its young representatives, definitively broken with all idea of a revelation. Some have openly gone over to the Pantheistic philosophy, and attempt to popularise its principles; others have adopted the frankness of Rousseau's conduct. This

attitude is strikingly exhibited in the beautiful book of M. Jules Simon on "Duty," so full of seriousness and courage, which exalts so high the human ideal, and forgets only one thing in pointing out our duties—and that is, to tell us how we can accomplish it without God! Eclecticism had already transplanted into France some of the principles of Hegel; it had mingled them in rather a ludicrous manner with its favourite ideas of the immortality of the soul, of God, and of moral liberty. It is upon another soil that the German philosophy must develope all its consequences.

It is not possible for us to give a complete picture of Socialism —we can only point out its most prominent traits. In a general manner Socialism may be thus defined: a translation of Pantheism into the common language—into a language of facts and aspirations. I speak only of the theory of Socialism. I do not confound with Socialism the legitimate aspiration after a larger share of the good things of life, and the ardent desire to strive energetically against pauperism.

We feel that there is here a social question worthy to engage the serious attention, not only of statesmen, but of the Christian Church. Woe to her! woe to us! if she forgets it. But the solution which Socialism proposes is in perfect harmony with the conclusions of an anti-Christian philosophy. Certainly, among the leaders of German Transcendentalism, were found men of order and of conservative principles. Many a serious and sober-minded Councillor of State, the declared enemy of democracy, might be found in their ranks; and yet its germ, with all its disastrous consequences, is found in their abstract writings. It is very convenient to speculate at one's ease—to acquire reputation, and even to gain good places, by discoursing on the Absolute. It is imagined by such persons that no fatal consequences can follow their learned lucubrations, if care be taken to clothe in a dry formula their proud thought of supplanting God; they will derive the benefit of the attempt without the risk of danger. This is a capital error. That thought, which is at first so thickly veiled, is sure ultimately to discover itself. It will soon circulate as a subtile current in the air—it becomes the inspiration of the masses, after having been the abstraction of the doctors; and, in a great social revolution, it is soon seen that it is not a matter of indifference to philosophise, either in one sense or in another. We now know at what

price we must pay for the Hegelian logic when its bills become due.

When the origin of all the Socialist systems is discovered, it is manifest that it is nothing else but Pantheism. The Pantheistic philosophy taught, more or less clearly, that there is no distinction between earth and heaven; between the inferior and the superior world. What more logical than the conclusions of Socialism: that we should only organise for this world, without caring for another—without even taking it into account at all? What more natural than to reject every delay and all moderation in the enjoyment of material good? The Pantheistic philosophy taught that there is no personal God. What more logical than to conclude, with Proudhon, that the name of God is a lie; and even that it represents a dangerous fiction; the symbol of the old order of things? The Pantheistic philosophy taught that moral liberty is but a vain appearance, and proclaimed the reign of fatalism. What more logical than, with Socialism, to conclude that an inward reform is of no importance, and that morality is but an absurd after-birth, which must be got rid of? The Pantheistic philosophy, by denying the personality of God and a conscience, deprived the individual of all value. What more logical than, with Socialism, to conclude that individuality must be annihilated before the social principle, which alone is charged with all reforms? The Pantheistic philosophy has undermined spiritualism. What more logical than to assert, with Socialism, that there is only one rational religion—the religion of the flesh?

Those who are acquainted with the fundamental principles of the different systems of Socialism, will acknowledge that we have exaggerated nothing. Saint Simonism, which has the privilege of inflaming so many eminent minds, has only developed boldly, and in mystic language, the legitimate consequences of Pantheism. Fourierism rests on a similar foundation. Has it not distinctly declared that your vocation is not to fulfil duties, but to follow your appetites, and to obey in everything what it calls passional attraction? I know that all these divers systems have been overthrown by late occurrences, and that there is not a single Socialist school which has firm faith in its doctrines. It would, however, be a great error to conclude that Socialism is destroyed. It is arrested in its progress, but not vanquished. It ferments in the hearts of its followers. Parti-

cular theories may have disappeared, but the spirit which animated them still lives. This breath of Materialism is the inspiring spirit of our generation. It may seem to slumber, but the tempests of the future will show, too soon, that it is still powerful.

Neither must it be thought that the age of systems and formulas is passed away. It is one of the evidences to the nobility of the human mind, that it cannot help justifying to itself its worst tendencies. It is never satisfied but when it can, by some ingenious theory, offer an apology for them. It is thus we have witnessed, within a few years, the rise of two systems which rally round their standards a considerable number of important adherents. It is remarkable that both systems attempt the reconstruction of religion. There is, however, a great difference between them. One has the stamp of a certain spiritualism; the other leads to the last degree of Materialism. The first has been proclaimed, and not without eloquence, by Mr. John Reynaud, in a book entitled "Heaven and Earth," which has produced a great sensation. The author declares that he acknowledges the religious sentiment, and that philosophy alone does not suffice. No person would imagine the source whence he pretends to draw those high notions, without which the human mind cannot be satisfied. He seeks not his inspirations from the Gospel, but from the ancient religion of the Druids, too long neglected, according to him. He would make us believe that Christianity is infinitely less capable of satisfying the wants of our hearts. It is a great misfortune for humanity that the Cross has replaced the sacred mistletoe. And if it be asked what is this doctrine, the only fruitful one, at once religious and philosophical, which was known and followed in the forests of ancient Gaul? the answer is, that it is nothing else than the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the migration of souls which gradually purify themselves by successive existences, and in their endless journeys among the stars. Mr. Reynaud's heaven is in every point similar to the earth. He does not really open to us a superior world; we are still within a fatal circle of the finite, through which Pantheism has never yet broken. This retrospective devotion to the religion of the Druids has excited great admiration, and many splendid thinkers, who deemed it a dishonourable bondage to embrace the doctrines of Christianity, have accepted with enthusiasm the

absurdities of Mr. Reynaud. The other system to which we refer is that of M. A. Comte, known under the name of Positivism. It is, in our opinion, the boldest expression of Pantheism that has yet been made. Its very name is characteristic. We have lost sufficient time, says its author, in religious and philosophical incoherencies. The time has come to construct a positive doctrine which shall not be a chimera. Let us quit all vain speculations! The misfortune of humanity has always been the desire to lift the veil of visible and apparent things to see what was beyond. Let that veil fall down for ever. Let us not attempt to find the causes of things; let us be satisfied with perceiving effects; let us study their laws and organise a positive science without mystery and without hypothesis. One idea, above all, must be carefully banished—that of a God; or, rather, let us acknowledge the only real god—the visible god—man—and substitute the worship of the known god for that of the God unknown. On this basis M. Comte wishes to construct a Humanitarian religion. This fervent mysticism in the service of Atheism is not the least fantastical sign of our times. The adoration of man has now run mad. Humanity was adored in olden times under symbolical forms; now it is the individual man to whom worship is offered. Each person should have a patron to whom he should pray for several hours every day, and whom he should constantly and fervently adore. This memorial worship is so much the more necessary, as there exists, according to M. Comte, no other immortality. The soul perishes with the body, and we only live again in the memory of our worshippers. M. Comte has organised the worship of humanity in its most minute details. He has drawn up a calendar, established sacraments, and he hopes soon to celebrate his humanitarian rites in the Pantheon. He thinks that, by such a religion, society would be reorganised in a most admirable manner. It will never go on well until it is governed by the philosophers of his Positive school, who are in future to play the part of Chinese Mandarins. M. Comte cannot conceive of anything more beautiful than the reign of letters. We shall have attained the idea of social order when the programme of his school shall be fully accepted. This programme is thus expressed in the beginning of one of the most important works of the leader of this Positive school—we ought to say the high priest of this sect. Its title is "Reorganisation of Society without God, by the Worship of Humanity."

It appears to us that we have sufficiently justified what we said at the commencement on the unequalled sincerity of anti-Christianism. That word of human revolt which, ever since the fall of man, has been the motto of all the rebellions of the heart and mind against the law of God, has been pronounced without any equivocation. It is no longer enveloped in vague circumlocutions. It is precise and definite. It must be remarked, in the meantime, that this avowed adoration of humanity corresponds with the profound abasement of its true dignity. This Positivism robs man of his true title to glory, the anxious and never-satiated thirst after truth, the desire to rise to the principle of things, the aspiration of the soul after its Creator. Philosophy is as much interdicted as religion ; so true is it that man, in denying God, denies that which constitutes the best distinction of his nature. He has no other greatness than that which he derives from his Divine parentage.

Positivism is, in truth, the name of the present anti-Christianity. The number of M. Comte's disciples is of little importance. His doctrines express too faithfully the instincts of the day not to have a strong ascendancy, directly or indirectly. What is that gross realism which increasingly usurps the domain of literature and of art, sacrificing everything to form, absolutely neglecting thought, ideality, and the interior drama, if it be not Positivism? What is that covetous appetite of gain, that mixture of stock-jobbing and industrialism, which characterises so many men in the present time, if it be not Positivism? What is that proud and stupid satisfaction of the wealthy, that worship of well-being, that unbridled luxury, which betokens in so many houses the adoration of the body, if it be not Positivism? And if you wish to know the length to which such doctrines lead in practice, you have only to observe the morals of our country and the hideous materialism which they suppose. A saying of Pascal, which we shall slightly modify, is strikingly justified: "Whosoever will make a god sinks to a level with the brute." We know not if we mistake, but it appears to us that this stream of impiety—of Atheism, is increasing. It flows everywhere, and extends itself further every day. Humanitarian Atheism is in favour with the public. Some persons express themselves with violence, others manifest a supreme disdain, a sly irony, a disdainful pity towards those who are simple enough to believe in Christ. The days are evil. They will be more so still. It is

well for Christians to be aware of it. Their responsibility is tremendous. We do not deny that Christianity has made great progress; but, we do not deceive ourselves, Infidelity has done the same. A formidable struggle is at hand.

We cannot examine into the causes of this recrudescence of Infidelity; but there is one which strikes us at first sight; and that is the violence of the Roman Catholic reaction. Who is able to appreciate the frightful evil which it has accomplished? It has unnaturalised Christianity; it is the living calumny of the Gospel. Through it Christianity has been falsely judged by those who have not examined its evidences, and it fosters that ignorance of the Gospel so common at the present time, which causes revelation to be rejected without a single examination. It irritates those who are of a generous spirit; it exasperates every friend of liberty of conscience. By its gross and silly devotion it excites universal mockery. But are there not other causes of this development of Infidelity? Are no reproaches due to other Churches? We are persuaded of the contrary. We do not intend to arraign them here; but we are certain that not one of them has shown a complete Christianity, a consequent Christianity, that apostolical Christianity which triumphed over Paganism. They have been too much immersed in their own quarrels; they have given too much importance to questions of little value; they have frequently disputed with each other, like the Greeks of Byzantium, on unimportant points, whilst the city was besieged and the ramparts scaled. It is time to run to the ramparts. Which ramparts are in danger? We have not to defend the supernatural only, as when we had to battle with Deism; but we have to defend conscience, moral liberty, and every element of religious life. The foundations of moral order have been overthrown. They must be laid again; and the Church is called to this work; but she must give more ample place to the moral sentiment. She must vivify it, by showing its perfect accordance with the religious sentiment, and by directing all her power against every idea, which, far or near, favours Pantheism. The threatened point must be strengthened; but the menaced point is conscience, the basis of all moral and religious certitude. God grant that this conviction, which is profoundly graven on our hearts, may become general among all Christians. This is the price of truth's victory; for as long as conscience is perverted, and in a manner destroyed, by dangerous

sophisms, there is no hold upon the human soul. The Gospel can have no action on it; it sounds in the void.

Pantheism is the evil genius, the demon of our epoch. If these few pages serve to impress this conviction on the minds of our readers, and to induce them to wage a desperate war with the system, we shall not regret having sounded the note of alarm. The first condition of victory for the Church is, the apprehension of her dangerous situation. We can never be sufficiently convinced of the gravity of that danger, nor of the need we have of the Almighty help of our God and Saviour.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

I.

TO HEATHENS.

BY THE REV. DR. BARTH, CALW, WURTEMBURG.

II.

TO THE JEWS.

BY THE REV. J. A. HAUSMEISTER, STRASBURG.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

ON THE PROGRESS OF EVANGELICAL MISSIONS AMONG THE HEATHEN.

BY THE REV. DR. BARTH,
CALW, WURTEMBURG.

August 29.—Church of Redemption.

In preparing to place before you a short sketch of the present state of evangelical missions, and of their progress within the last few years, I am sorry to be obliged to say, that a close inspection of the documents that I have consulted for this purpose has shown me how much the details furnished by the sketches are often incomplete and inexact. I have found so many omissions and contradictions in the multitude of journals and reports, in four different languages, which I have read, made extracts from, and compared, so as to afflict myself with giddiness, that I have been obliged to give up the idea of placing before you an exact and complete sketch of the actual state of missions, compared with what it was four years ago. Doubtless, the discrepancies affect only the details: the fundamental principles receive no damage. But it is no less a grief to me, not to be able to give in this sketch precise and microscopic pictures; for to no spot in the missionary world is the principle not applicable; *facta loquuntur*—facts speak.

You have already heard that the work of which we speak has made much progress within the last four years. On some parts of the missionary field the labours have been, for a season, interrupted, or have remained stationary, or even retrograded, in consequence of unforeseen circumstances—such as the war in Caffraria; the multitude of deaths in the province of Orissa; political misunderstandings in Eastern Africa; but, in the general, a work, which is not only a human but a divine work, which carries in itself the imperishable germs of life, and which rests on the express design of God, as well as on His richest promises, can neither remain stationary nor retrograde. It is

like the satellite of a planet, which, obeying the movement that has been given to it, turns without intermission in the direction of its orbit. Would it be necessary, perchance, to consider the actual work of missions as something forced and out of season —in a word, as an anachronism? No; we have all, on the contrary, the intimate conviction that we live in the era of missions. The history of the last ten years has too often sealed and established this fact to enable us still to doubt it. The thousands of witnesses who have returned victoriously to their God; most of them, after painful sacrifices, after many afflictions and sufferings, proclaim it in Heaven; while multitudes of converts cry to us from beyond the sea that the time is now arrived for the fullness of the gentiles to come in. But the testimony of facts comes, also, to confirm our assertion. I have progress to announce to you; positive progress, though slow. I have to speak to you of an enlargement of the work, real, though not very sensible; and this fact will weigh all the time in the scale when we consider how much in our day difficulties accumulate and oppose themselves to the propagation of the missionary work. When war, and the rumours of war, exhausted the countries which are called to sustain missions, and threatened to overturn the foundations of our national well-being, and to engulph or to paralyse all other interests; when the continually increasing high prices, and the damage sustained by commerce and industry, set bounds even to the resources of those who gave willingly; when material interests were, day by day, assuming a position superior to those of a spiritual nature; when a more decided and insolent revolt against Christ was constantly showing itself—ought we not to be astonished that an enterprise, which does not promise to its agents dividends on this side the grave, should always find subscribers, and should even see their number augmenting?

We find that, taking the average, the work has not made progress in all its branches during the last four or five years. On several points we still want precise details; on others we can offer you the results of our investigations.

As to the receipts of the different missionary societies of Europe and America, we find that eight of the greatest societies*

* The Church of England, the London, and the Baptist Missionary Societies; the Missionary Society of Basle; the Wesleyan Missionary Society; the Society of Paris; that of the Rhine, and that of the Moravian Brethren.

received altogether, in 1851, £346,768; and in 1854 or 1855 about £352,037—the increase is, then, about £5,269. The number of central stations occupied by fourteen societies was indicated in 1851 at 774; in 1854 at 862. The number of missionaries supported by fifteen societies was in 1851 about 1,385; in 1854 about 1,581. The number of assistant missionaries belonging to six societies in 1851 was 1,311; in 1854 it was 1,362. The number of other agents supported by eleven societies amounted in 1851 to 10,451; in 1854 to 11,965. The number of communicants belonging to eight societies has risen from 153,467 to 166,027. The number of pupils in the different missionary schools of eleven societies has also risen from 117,257 to 133,497. The progress is small—but there is still a progress, while a step back would be nothing surprising. A notice (the correctness of which, it is true, I cannot guarantee) estimates the number of all the missionaries in 1854 at a figure which attests considerable progress, compared with the preceding years. But, were it even true that, by our calculation, this number increases annually about four or five per cent.; and could we even estimate this increase with a mathematical precision, we should not yet have an infallible measure of the real progress of the work; for what is true of souls is still more so of missionaries: we do not count them, we weigh them. Men, like the blessed William Carey, who, without having entered a university, learnt thirty-eight languages, in which he undertook to translate the Bible; who, moreover, still found time to prepare great literary works, and was at once professor, Government interpreter, and inspector of different works; men, like the ardent Rhenius, who was the means of the entrance of ten thousand Pagans into the Christian Church; or Williams, the apostle of the South Sea; men endued with activity so great, and so eminently useful in the missionary work, weigh as much in the balance as a great number of other workmen. Now, if we have lost, during the last four or five years, some men of this class (I shall only mention here Freeman, Lacey, Phillip, Gutslaff); and if we are yet ignorant whether the new generation contains in its bosom men of so eminent a character, we cannot, with all our numerical precision, determine how much the capital of disposable forces is increased. It is the same with the baptised, the communicants, and the native agents; if we find among them men, like the Indian, John Tschoop, who was the means of converting to

Christ a whole congregation; or like King George of the Tonga Isles, an ornament of the pulpit as well as of the throne—men, like lights which shine all round about them, and which make the splendour of their rays glitter at a distance, at which the flies of Beelzebub come and burn their wings—then the numerical value is extended much by the *dynamical* value; just as a small country, to which God has given a living missionary spirit, may possess an importance, as regards the Church of Jesus, far greater than a country ten times as large. The little kingdom of Wurtemburg, for example, which counts scarcely a million of Protestant inhabitants, has, within the last forty years, sent into the Pagan world about a hundred and fifty missionaries, while several other Protestant States of Germany, of the same size, cannot count twelve. Statistical results afford us, therefore, but an inexact measure. Meanwhile, a glance at the missionary field will give us sufficient proofs that the work has made progress within the last few years. Let me cite a few of these—at least, as much as the shortness of the time will allow.

It is certainly a cause of joy to see that the small army of missionaries is recruited more and more from among native converts. Thus, the missions of the American Baptists do not reckon, at this moment, less than 117 churches among the Burmans and Karens. For about 10,000 converts they reckon only eleven ordained preachers. They are constantly forming new communities. Of late, several of these flocks have been inaccessible to the missionaries, but the native preachers, the number of which is more than 120, penetrate impracticable routes across remote forests, and preach the crucified Saviour in the valleys, and on the tops of the mountains, so well that the missionary following their track finds the desert flourishing as a rose. Since the Evangelical Churches of the civilized world are too indolent to send, though necessity urges, troops of labourers into the field whitened for harvest, this concourse of natives is most assuredly the only means of meeting the cry for workmen. The fact that the missionaries find, among their new converts, so great a number of capable men is, doubtless, a powerful proof of the wise direction given to their labours as well as of their success. As long as the hundred and twenty native preachers of whom we spoke were not gone out from the ranks of the converts, each of them only counted for one solitary man; but it is otherwise

from the moment in which we see them fall into the ranks of labourers, for each one then enrolls a new battalion of disciples under the standard of Jesus. They are like corn in the sack of the sower, every grain carrying the germ of an ear with its numerous grains. They are like fruit, of which the kernel planted in the earth becomes a tree.

The missions of the Moravian Brethren, which counted, in 1849, 64,071 souls under their direction, counted 70,612 in 1854; but still these numbers do not present an exact image of the real conquests of the Missions as long as we are ignorant how many there are among these souls who shall multiply themselves by converting others. It is the same as regards the Missionary Schools. God grant they may count a very great number of pupils who shall one day be saved! We do not doubt that for an instant. But we cherish still another hope. It is that there shall be among them those who will become missionaries, catechists, schoolmasters, in short, a source of blessing to their countrymen. We are so much the more rejoiced at the increase of scholars, as our hope increases in the same proportion. Judge, after that, of what importance was the measure which the English Government adopted last year in India; a measure by which it permitted the missionaries to found schools at the expense of the Government, to institute and direct them in conformity with their own principles and confessions of faith, under the sole condition that such schools should undergo an examination in the scientific departments by the Government overseer.

We come now to take a review of our little army of combatants, and we are rejoiced to see the number of native agents increasing. Let us next cast a glance on the positions and character of the hostile army. Our time is too short to permit us to examine the numerous bodies stationed in the different countries: we shall confine ourselves to the country in which we are already—India. In the commencement of 1852, twenty-two societies were employed in India and Ceylon. Under their direction, 443 missionaries laboured, of whom forty-eight were ordained natives. The native catechists numbered 698. They reckoned 313 missionary stations; 331 communities of pagans converted to Christianity; 18,410 communicants, 112,191 native Christians, and 2,015 schools, with 18,836 pupils of both sexes. The whole Bible was there translated into ten languages, the New Testament into fifteen, and several Gospels into nineteen

languages. Add to that a great number of books and tracts sent forth from twenty-five mission presses. The little army is thus well provided with ammunition. But how innumerable are the multitudes of enemies which keep a-head of it! Doubtless their arms are, for the most part, rusty, and little to be dreaded by those who carry the sword of the Spirit; but their prodigious masses are more than sufficient entirely to crush the little flock. What can we do against the millions of Indian idolaters as long as they have the courage to resist the assaults of the little army of the soldiers of Jesus Christ, as long as they have faith in their idols? But, if this confidence once begins to waver, and to vanish, and, if the pagans perceive the ominous presentiment insinuating itself into their minds that the power of their gods totters to its fall, and that their adversaries gain the upper hand; then the superiority of their number will be no longer of any avail to them. Well, we have seen this state of things commence in India within the last few years. The pagan earth quakes; the pillars of the old pagodas tremble; the missions have found a fulcrum which enables them to unhinge the system of idolatry; the confidence of the pagans in their gods is destroyed; the idols see their dominion, which had lasted many thousand years, annihilated; and the only question now is to whom their heritage will fall. Will it be to Mahometanism—a religion doomed also to death? Will it be to Infidelity, which possesses in itself no vivifying power? Will it be to the Gospel, which advances over the globe, carrying with it the promises of victory? Thinking Hindoos themselves begin to be aware that they cannot now long resist the slow and invisible progress of Christian influence. They avow it, and say—"For ourselves we shall not become Christians; but our children will not long be able to keep themselves from it." This silent activity of Christian ideas, which, propagated by schools, by books, and by the preaching of the Gospel, insinuate themselves little by little into the nation, and undermine the soil of paganism, ought to be appreciated, as it appears to us, far higher than the visible results of missionary labour as registered on paper in their reports.

Meanwhile, the latest reports furnish us also with numerous proofs that the work has made remarkable progress within the last few years. In the Punjaub, the Moharadschah (great prince), Dhulib Singh, has shown himself favourable to Christianity, and the most important towns of the country are

occupied by missionaries. The preaching of the Cross has resounded even to the foot of the Himalayas, and they are even preparing to carry it beyond these loftiest summits of the globe. A great historian has said, "It is not rivers but mountains which separate nations." As for the Gospel, neither rivers nor mountains are a wall of separation.

In *Hindostan*, on the field occupied by the missions of Basle, there have been converted, from 1849 to 1854, as many persons as during the fifteen preceding years. In *Indo-China*, the Birman war has excited the hope that new and large doors will open before the messengers of peace. In *China* the ancient foundations of the great wall have been destroyed in such a manner as could not have been predicted four years ago. On the waters which have been stagnant for so many centuries, a violent storm has broken, shaking them to their depths, and tossing their gigantic waves into the air. Whatever may be the issue of these movements they will advance the kingdom of Christ, and the breach made in the great wall will never be entirely repaired. A mission has been formed in the island of *Java* among the natives, as, hitherto, the Word of the Gospel had only had access in that country to the Chinese and Malays. Twenty-five years ago there were in the *South Sea Islands* only forty-three missionaries: there are now a hundred and twenty. The Evangelical Church, which then only numbered there 25,000 adherents, now numbers 267,000, of whom 45,680 are communicants. Four years ago the isles of Figi were known only in connection with the horrors of war and the feasts of cannibals. Now the latest intelligence informs us that the inhuman king of the country of Bau has been received with all his suite into the bosom of the Christian Church. In the island of *Rarotonga* idolatry is so radically extirpated that a young chief of the island, who came to London some years ago, saw there, for the first time in his life, idols of Rarotonga in the London Missionary Society's Museum. Even here, at Paris, some young Tahitians saw an idol of their country which was altogether unknown to them. They blushed, and could scarcely believe that their fathers had adored forms so monstrous.

In *South America* the servants of Christ minister to the sick and dying of a great nation, and endeavour to calm their last hours by offering to them the consolations of the Gospel. At the same time the members of the Evangelical Church of

America send their messengers to other nations to repair in this way the crimes of which their fathers were guilty towards the Indians. In the *Antilles* such has been the progress, that the missions have come to an end; for the missionary stations are transformed into self-sustaining committees, and the mission has become a Church. The *West Indies* are like a missionary station of the interior of Africa. As the central regions of that part of the world, so populous and so mysterious, were inaccessible to the missionaries, God made use of the wickedness and perversity of men to tear the sons of Ham from their dark recesses, and to transfer them into other lands where the light of the Gospel shone. It is a mission reversed; ordinarily the missionaries go to find the pagans, while here the pagans come to find the missionaries. Africa itself thus receives many blessings. Her children have never entirely lost the remembrance of their country and its necessities. The colony transplanted from America to *Siberia* acts insensibly on the interior of the country. The kings who border upon it invite the missionaries, and already one among them has been received, with some of his subjects, into the Christian Church. Converted negroes have gone out from Sierra Leone, impelled by a desire to carry the good news, which has been to them a source of delight, into their ancient country, from which they were torn. It is thus that the missions of *Badagry* and *Abbeocuta* have taken their rise, and, of late years, the servants of Christ have made the invitations of Jesus to resound at *Thadau* and *Ijaye*, and other great negro cities. Even in *Lagos*, that old slave market of such bad fame, the trade in negroes has been rendered impossible; and in this town itself is proclaimed the name of Him who gives true liberty.

We shall not stop at the *South of Africa*, where war has caused the work of God to retrograde; although, under another point of view, there is also there some progress. We shall content ourselves with mentioning what is done in the *East*, among the Americans and Greeks. Already fifty Protestant communities, larger or smaller, are formed there, and the Turkish Empire has seen the first Evangelical Church rise in its bosom in the ancient and great city of Broussa. This movement of life in the midst of the old extinct Churches has made considerable progress of late years, and excites even the attention of the *Turks*, who have been hitherto so inaccessible; for they have seen, for the first time, Christians who do not adore images, and whose conduct is

free from scandal. It is principally to this cause that we ought to attribute the desire to know the Word of God which manifests itself in our day in Turkey.

While we speak of the progress of Missions, how is it possible for us to forget the results achieved by the Bible Society? They are two faithful companions that are not to be separated; and, in those remote and impenetrable places which the Missionary cannot enter, the Bible does not fail to penetrate and to accomplish the purpose for which it is sent. Some one has said, "The Bible passes through the key hole." *The British and Foreign Bible Society* received, in 1851, £106,282. The receipts of the last year have risen to £128,034, without taking into the account the Chinese and Jubilee funds. In 1851, the number of translations amounted to 148; it is now about 160. The number of copies distributed in that year was about 24,247,667. It amounts now to 29,389,507. Finally, the number of copies circulated by other Bible Societies, which was then about 17,625,457, amounts now to twenty millions.

I have been asked to furnish religious statistics of the Christian countries, indicating the amount of zeal, activity, and sacrifices on behalf of Missions. I have under my eye a list of the receipts* of all the great missionary societies last year. But, when I should tell you, for example, that all the German and Swiss societies together have collected, in 1854, £39,920, what would you know of their activity, of their Missionary zeal, and of their spirit of sacrifice? No figure of itself is sufficient by which to make a calculation as to these matters; we must employ other means, when we would arrive at a just measure of comparison; we must take into consideration the number of Protestant inhabitants, the number of Christians who interest themselves in Missions, and calculate the relation between their contributions and their means. One thing is certain, viz., that none of us do enough for Missions, whether we consult our means, or the necessities of the work. Making deduction for

* Besides the Societies mentioned above, the following received, in 1854, as under:—

The Netherlands Missionary Society	88,650 florins
Lutheran Missionary Society, of Leipsic (5,000 more than in 1853)	24,000 thalers
The Free Church of Scotland	£18,322 sterling
The American Board of Commissioners	310,107 dollars
The American Episcopal Methodist Missionary Society	339,072 ditto
The American Presbyterian Missionary Society	174,453 ditto

those who take no interest in Missions, those who do could do so much more effectually if they were not content with doing what is easy, but were willing also to do what demands efforts and sacrifices. I do not speak here of all, but of a great number, and especially of those in easy circumstances. As to what concerns the extent of the necessities of the work, I shall only speak of a single country, of China, with its 360 millions of inhabitants. Let us not forget that, while we march forward, the Romish Church advances also; that the Propaganda, which received, in 1849, only £146,596, has seen its receipts mount up in 1854, to £161,903, presenting an increase of £15,307. Let us remember, always, that it sends its Missionaries in great troops into the field of labour; and that, above all, it builds its chapels by the side of the Evangelical Churches. Shall we suffer ourselves to be outstripped by it?

If we consider the innumerable multitude of enemies that keep a-head of us, and the immensity of the field of labour that has been assigned to us, we ought still to aver, with shame, that our number is very small, and that our resources are very trifling. Still more sad and grievous would it be to see, rising in the midst of so feeble a battalion, divisions, jealousies, envyings, and quarrels. The sixteen hundred soldiers which form the missionary band, and the five thousand native agents, may consistently divide themselves into ten or twelve different bodies, each with its own colour and uniform; but they ought never to forget that they have a common enemy, that they yield obedience to the same chief and to the same command, and that they ought to work according to the same plan of attack. We have always regarded missions as a means of union among different Christian denominations; since all the societies have only one and the same end—that of saving by faith in Christ the poor pagans who are ready to perish. Well, I regret to be obliged to say that strife has sometimes glanced even on this field of concord; that we have seen a missionary refuse his pulpit to another missionary belonging to a different religious denomination, or refuse to go with him to the table of the Lord, which ought to be a table of communion for believers. We have seen missionaries encroach on the field occupied by other labourers, and seek to reinforce their Church by the admission of candidates converted by other societies. Will there, then, be in heaven Church of England and Wesleyans, Baptists and Independents, Lu-

therans and Reformed? Do their uniforms differ from one another? No. Heaven only includes the blessed, clothed with white garments, and covered with the resplendent robe of Christ's righteousness. Have we the right to impose on the pagan nations who are converted to Christ the historical forms of our worship and our individual confessions of faith? Ought we violently to anticipate the particular form that the Church of Christ shall take among different people, under the influence of climate, popular customs, manners of living, language, natural disposition, and religious ideas, such as are even to this day manifested among them? Shall not the development and application of Christian ideas be different among the Esquimaux from what they are among the Brahmins or the Chinese? The Gospel is for all, and all can receive it into their hearts; but the historical development of doctrine and forms of worship cannot be the same among the Germans as among the islanders of the Archipelago of Tonga. The Gospel permits itself to be transplanted, and prospers in all climates; but its ecclesiastical form will everywhere take a national colour. A missionary is a messenger of Christ; it is Christ that he ought to preach; and whoever loves Christ is his brother. Leave to each one liberty, provided fraternity and equality do not suffer. Moreover, if any one wishes to deviate from the principle of equality, which grants the same rights to all men, let him do it by following the rule of the Apostle (Phil. ii., 3), "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than himself."

In India, and, above all at Calcutta, we find among the missionaries of the different parts a delightful spirit of unity and fraternal love. I think I can say as much with regard to those of Hindostan, China, South Africa, and Constantinople. If exceptions are sometimes presented of the nature I have cited above, we must impute them rather to the personal character of the missionaries than to the instructions they receive from their societies; for it is very certain that the latter desire peace and union. What proves this is that the secretaries of the different missionary societies, having their centre in London, hold in autumn and winter periodical fraternal meetings by turns, in their different establishments, to deliberate on the common interests of the work. Conferences of the same description also take place at Calcutta among the missionaries of the different societies. But peace is always on the point of flying; this is

why the Apostle Paul recommends us to run after it; (Heb. xii., 14); and we ought never to grow weary of strengthening and consolidating it. "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace for those who make peace." (James iii., 18). Is not the Head of Missions the Prince of Peace, although he takes the lead armed with a two-edged sword? And when he shall return to found on the earth the kingdom of peace (and we hope that he will come soon), what shall be the fortune of those who do not watch, but begin to beat their fellow-servants? (Matt. xxiv. 48). Is it not a fact worthy of reflection that the Saviour should ascribe a failure of peace and love to a failure of vigilance? What motives have we not to watch, and keep ourselves ready for the great coming of Jesus, a coming that all the signs of the times show us to be near! Already we hear the thunder rolling in the distance, the precursor of the storm which may devastate all the fields that we have sown. Already the earth quakes under our feet; the electrical threads are agitated and tremble; and who knows in how short a time they will communicate to us the intelligence that our work has reached its end! Let us then hold firm by the bonds of love and concord, so that, like a phalanx well drawn together, we may be able to offer a vigorous resistance to the army of the enemy, and that the King of Glory, when he shall come, may find us with hands joined and hearts united!

[A paper on Christian missions was also read by the Rev. M. Sardinoux, Professor in the College at Montauban; but neither the French editor nor the editor of this volume has been able to obtain a copy of it.]

SKETCH OF MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE JEWS IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

BY THE REV. J. A. HAUSMEISTER,
MISSIONARY TO THE JEWS IN STRASBURG.

(*August* 30.—*Chapel Taitbout.*)

I FEEL it a difficult task, although a Jew and a Missionary, worthily to respond to the confidence placed in me by the Committee. I shall not merely crave the indulgence of the meeting, but I shall declare that I intend to do no more than open the discussion, or rather the friendly conversation, on this important subject. I hope, by provoking mutual communications and an exchange of ideas, to contribute my part towards a clear view of the position of the people of Israel and the work which is being carried on among them.

Allow me, then, in speaking of the Mission to the Jews, to advert first to its labours, then to its results, and lastly, to its future prospects. In the Apostolic age Israel was the object of missionary love and activity. At that time this work was frequently attended with great success. According to documents worthy of confidence, the Church at Jerusalem, up to the time of the taking of the city by Adrian, had had fifteen bishops, all of whom had been Jews. From that period, conversion has been going on; individuals, if not masses, have turned to Christ; and not for an instant, during the whole course of centuries, has this partial resurrection of that people been interrupted. In all ages there have been teachers in the Church—men of enlightened and profound piety—who have had the salvation of Israel at heart, and who, according to their means, have preached the Gospel to the dispersed Jews. But when the Church degenerated, when she herself Judaised, she placed human traditions side by side with the Word of God, and she lost more and more the power and the will necessary to act on Israel, and to communicate the knowledge of salvation. In proportion as the Church of the Middle Ages shut herself out from the Divine

Word, she lost her taste for the sacred language and writings of the Old Testament. Ignorant of the Old Testament, she no longer understood either the ideas or the faith of Israel, and was incapable of conducting the Jew to his King and Saviour.

Yet, even in those dark times, more than one Jew felt himself drawn towards the truth which was still held by the Church. History mentions several pious and enlightened doctors who came from the Jewish nation. Luther frequently speaks with great praise of Paul de Santa Maria, and acknowledges to have greatly profited by his exegetical works and Hebrew science. Nicholas de Lyra, who was born a Jew, was a professor at the Sorbonne; he energetically opposed the scholastic methods, and composed a commentary on the Bible, which was excellent for the times in which it was written. Luther was much indebted to it, and it has even been said—

Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non cantasset.

The Reformation was not unobserved by Israel: it was welcomed with joy by many distinguished Jews, and exerted indirectly a beneficial influence upon them, as it did upon the Romish Church. In the Lutheran and also in the Reformed Church there were several proselytes who were celebrated Jews.

The Church of the Reformation, oppressed by persecutions from without, and undermined by a lifeless dogmatism within, soon gave signs of weakness. But the Word of God, which the Reformers had restored to the Church, was vigorous enough to preserve, so to speak, the sacred fire under the ashes. The Church also had still sufficient strength to win a large number of Jewish proselytes and to lead them to Christ.

Among these there were a few distinguished for their piety and knowledge. But neither during the Reformation, nor in the following century, was there a mission specially for the Jews. This mission did not begin until the eighteenth century. As soon as the Church discovered that it was her duty to send the Gospel to the heathen, she found also that she ought to preach it to the Jews. In 1740, Samuel Lieberkuhn, a member of the Moravian Church, visited, as a missionary, the Jews in England. In 1756 he went to those of Bohemia. He was everywhere received as a friend of Israel, and the sincerity of his love to that people was universally acknowledged. At the same epoch, the mission to the Israelites took a form so regular and

had become so extensive as to recall to mind the Apostolic age. In 1728, the Jewish Institution of Callenberg was founded at Halle; it continued till 1792, and sent about twenty missionaries to the Jews. The most remarkable and most zealous was the pious and learned Stephen Schulz. During the seventeen years of his ministry, he undertook, accompanied by several colleagues, eleven missionary journeys. He visited Constantinople, Smyrna, Egypt, Syria, the borders of the Euphrates, and Palestine. He travelled through Germany and Poland several times; he was not born a Jew, but through love to the Jews, he became as a Jew—thinking, talking, living, as did the Jews of that period. He had a very remarkable gift for conversing with the Jews and for bringing them, as by an easy and pleasant method, to speak of serious things. The Jews, who, for centuries, had received from Christians only insults and mockings, were exceedingly astonished at the love of the new missionary, and a great number of souls were brought to Christ. Often, in his travels and his visits, Stephen had the happiness to sow one of those grains of mustard seed which, long hidden, at last germinated, and brought forth fruit to life eternal. Many a time did a learned Jew and an humble artisan thank him for some salutary word which he had dropped years before. That word, long meditated on, at last had led them out of the rabbinical labyrinth into the path of salvation, and brought them to confess Christ by becoming members of His Church. The great day alone can show all the fruit which the mission of Callenberg has produced.

Before we state how this mission was re-commenced we will answer a question which is often put to us, even by serious Christians. Is a special mission for the Jews necessary? The Jews live among us surrounded by Christians; if they were willing, they might hear and receive the Gospel. Let them be treated as those persons who are not members of Churches.

There are Jews, I acknowledge, who, by a special direction of Divine Providence, have been led to hear the Gospel, as by accident, and who, without any missionary, have embraced the truth. But these are exceptions, and no rule can be established by exceptions. Doubtless Christendom ought to be a living epistle from Christ to his people still blind. This, however, is not the case, as we all know. The Lord, it is true, has in our times many people who are willing to serve Him and to walk

in his footsteps, but Christendom, as a whole, is far from resembling him whose name it bears. What sins now stalk abroad with brazen forehead! To mention only one of them, think of the almost universal profanation of the Lord's-day. And, then, have God's servants, even the most faithful, when they preach on a text of the Old Testament, always sufficient light, sufficient depth, to instruct, to convince, and to convert a man of Israel? In many countries the Jews have obtained their civil rights, but if they have been emancipated by the State, they are not emancipated in the hearts of Christians. The people dwell among us, but they dwell apart. What a strange and painful astonishment troubles a Jew when he enters our assemblies. What prejudices, what mistrust arrest him when he desires to be converted to Christ.

But these things are probably of secondary importance; let us hasten to that which is most serious. What a spectacle does the Romish Church present to the Jew! Is that which he sees in Roman Catholic countries calculated to give him a true idea of Christianity? What, frequently replies the Jew, do you wish me to become an idolator? To fall down, as Christians do, before an image or a crucifix? Not to speak of many other deplorable things, will not the dogma which Rome has proclaimed this year cause great scandal to every Jew who is at all acquainted with the Old Testament? Will the recollections of the *auto-da-fé* of Spain and Portugal; the sight of the infected Ghettos which still exist in the States of the Church; the abuses and the scandals, which are so numerous, make known the Christian religion and induce the Jew to love it? The greater part of the Jews live in Roman Catholic countries, as Poland, Gallicia, Wallachia: synagogues, consisting of from twenty to thirty thousand members, are found there. If you wish them to have a true knowledge of the Christian religion, you must send them evangelical preachers.

If the Jews in Europe need missionaries, surely those in Africa and Asia, surrounded by heathen and Mussulmen, need them still more. They may meet occasionally, it is true, with a Christian; they may see Churches, but you know well what is the Christianity of the East.

Even were all the Jews existing resident in Protestant countries, they would still require special missionaries. Jewish literature is rich, much more so than is commonly thought.

Objections to Christianity, and hereditary prejudices against it, are numerous and exceedingly varied. Judaism has for many centuries past ceased to be biblical, it has become rabbinical. The road which conducts us, so to speak, to the mind of a Jew is covered with theological doctrines; we find there stepping-stones which we must use and stumbling-stones which we must avoid. In order to act on the Jewish mind, we must be acquainted with their writings, their traditions, and the whole character of their ideas. It is, in fact, a study, and one perhaps not suited to every disciple. Rabbinism has, I confess, lost much of its importance and of its consideration within the last thirty years. In the bosom of the synagogue itself new ideas are springing up. But it is not the truth, it is not the doctrines of the Bible that find access to the Jews who are called "Reformed;" it is rationalism, it is the philosophy of Christians. Among the Jewish doctors there are several well acquainted with the labours and systems of the negative critics; but they are ignorant of the simple truths of the Gospel. The mass, even of the Jews, have imbibed our infidelity. True Christians, real believers, appear to them as men of exaggerated views, men behind the age. It is our duty, disciples of Jesus, to offer the Jews that truth of the Bible which we have received from their ancestors — that truth, above all other, which is necessary not only to the Jews, but also to ourselves.

Our position in regard to the Jews is somewhat singular; many of their doctors carry arms against us, not only defensive, but also offensive. They have formed, with unbelieving Christians, an alliance against the pure Gospel. Let us then proclaim to those Jews who are seeking new truth, but who are wandering from the right way, the true Gospel; let us show to them that we are disciples of the Bible, sons of Abraham, sons of their prophets; let us prove to them that the Christianity of the Gospel is the accomplishment of Judaism. In this way alone shall we fulfil our obligations, and promote the glory of the Lord and the salvation of their souls. This is the missionary work we have to accomplish among the Jews; this is the duty of real believers towards the children of Abraham. Thanks be to God there are many who love the Lord, acknowledge this duty, and carry on this work.

In the commencement of the present century, an epoch of great trials, and a time when many souls were seeking "the

one thing needful," a holy zeal for the Gospel was awakened in England. In 1808, the London Society for the Jews was founded. From that time, this Society has continued to enlarge its sphere of activity. In 1854, it had thirty-three stations in Europe, Northern Africa, Palestine, and Asia Minor; ninety-eight Missionaries, schoolmasters, and colporteurs were employed in its service, of whom fifty-one were converted Jews.

Poland was the most extensive field of its operations until the beginning of the present year. The station of Varsovia was founded thirty years ago; soon after, auxiliary stations were established. In Poland alone 400 Jews have been baptised by the Missionaries. Many Israelites quitted their country in order more openly to confess the Lord, and to join themselves to His Church. The leaven of truth has penetrated the mass of the Jews. They were astonished the first ten years of the Mission to find that Christians conversed with them and loved them. They were willing to enter on discussions concerning the person of the Messiah, but they would not acknowledge that Jesus of Nazareth was he. The religion of the Romish and of the Greek Church could not be, in their opinion, the religion of the Messiah. By degrees, they perceived the difference between the religion of Rome and that of the Missionaries, but they still tenaciously adhered to the Talmud and rabbinical traditions. The excellent publication of Dr. M'Caul, "*The Paths of Israel*," led many to see the difference between the doctrines of the Bible and the teachings of the Synagogues. Thousands of Old Testaments, without notes or comments, were sold to Jews, and to these were added thousands of copies of the New Testament, and tracts.

Unhappily, this Mission has, this year, been suppressed; but the good seed so abundantly sown has not been lost. Many German Protestant colonies owe their ecclesiastical organization and their religious life to the instructions of the Missionaries. Their banishment was an occasion of sorrow, not only to the Jewish Proselytes, and to Protestants, but also to the Jews in general. Their best friends, they said, had been taken from them. In the Duchy of Posen, the schools established by the Missionaries contained 800 Jewish children, whose parents felt sincerely grateful to the Missionaries and the schoolmasters.

If we were to speak in detail of the Mission in Silesia and Prussia, we could repeat facts that would gladden every Christian mind. In Berlin alone, there are more than 2,000 Jews

who have been baptised. I do not say that all these have converted hearts, or that they are all the spiritual children of our Missionaries, but I may say as much of most of them.

England contains several thousand converted Jews. A large number may be met with working in the East India Docks, in manufactories, and in workshops. Others are engaged in Home Missions, some are teachers and professors of medicine. There are fifty-nine converted Jews, clergymen of the Church of England, and other Churches also possess some as pastors; 700 have been baptised in the Society's Chapel in London; 700 Jewish children, after having been educated in the two schools belonging to the same society, have been baptised and enabled to gain their living in an honest and useful manner. Pressed for time, we must pass over in silence the different stations of the London society.

The German Jews are of all their brethren the best educated and the most influential. Since Moses Mendelsohn translated the Pentateuch into German, a considerable change has come over the Synagogues. The Jews have had in their ranks a large number of celebrated *savants*. The Talmudic system, which was dominant among them, has been undermined and shaken to its foundation by Jews. In many parts of Germany they feel that they have no foundation on which they can build. In their distress some fix their hopes on systems of modern philosophy; others on what is wrongly called the progress of light; others, again, on political and social utopias; and some have turned to God, and, after terrible conflicts, have reached the feet of the Saviour. A certain number of these Jews are on friendly terms with our Missionaries; they avow their sympathy with Christianity; they acknowledge its salutary influence on humanity, and they confess that it is right to propagate it. Many would like to become Christians, but are deterred, some by their families, others by the offence of the Cross, which they have not yet overcome. Nearly all of them, however, feel that they cannot long remain as they are.

Latterly some Jews of a more serious character, and who could not accept either the system of modern philosophy or that of the vulgar Deism of the pretended Reformed synagogue, have gone back to old rabbinical orthodoxy; and seek to find in that a more solid foundation on which to build the peace of their souls, and rest for their weary minds. But these modern

Talmudists write in German, in the style of the nineteenth century, and all their manner shows that, even in their estimation, the basis of their orthodoxy has lost its solidity. Without believing in Jesus, they esteem real Christians, and do not avoid our missionaries. With them at least they can speak on their sacred books, and on the hope for Israel.

Certainly, the field is large and extensive which is opened to our missionaries in Germany; but we must have men who are familiar, not only with rabbinical theology, but also with the current literature, and the philosophy which at the present time occupies the domain of science. I do not say they must allow themselves to be carried away by the stream, but they should follow the example of the greatest of missionaries; and, whilst holding firmly by the cross, make themselves "all things to all men," so as in the end to save a great number.

We must pass by Constantinople, merely saluting the 80,000 Jews living there, and the missionaries who are working among them. We must also cast a look of regret and sympathy on the stations of Jassy and Bucharest, through which we cannot travel, and hasten to reach Jerusalem, the holy city, which is still "trodden under foot of the Gentiles." On Mount Zion we see an evangelical temple, and there the pure Gospel of Christ is preached, in the languages of the East and the West. This temple was founded and is supported by the London Society. A certain number of sons and daughters of Abraham assemble in this holy place around God's Word. They there worship in spirit and in truth the God of their fathers, and call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the true Messiah promised to Israel. Near this temple the London Society has established schools, a workshop, and an hospital, of which the Jews thankfully avail themselves. "The Mission," they say, "has placed a physician among us—Sir Moses Montefiore would never have sent us one. The Mission has built us an hospital, the thought of which would never have occurred to our Jewish brethren. The Mission has founded schools for us; and without the Mission we should have had none to the present hour."

Thus, either directly or indirectly, our missionaries have done good to the Jews of Jerusalem. To the Lord alone be all the praise and glory!

The eldest daughter of the London Society is that of *Berlin*. She has not grown as fast as her mother; she has not the same

strength, nor the same freshness, yet she lives and labours. From the origin of the society, the celebrated Professor Tholuck took a lively interest in it, and supported it by a truly Christian and active zeal. Many a son of Abraham was led by him to acknowledge the God of his fathers. Among other facts, I may cite one which occurred thirty years since. A young man of good family was brought to the knowledge of the truth by Professor Tholuck. At first his conversion excited great opposition on the part of his relatives; but the young man patiently endured the opprobrium of Christ, by which he succeeded in gaining first his aunt and afterwards several other relatives. There are at present thirty members of this family engaged, either as ministers or teachers, or in other ways serving the Lord, and living to His glory.

The Scotch Church, when awakened to missionary zeal, also began to labour for the conversion of Israel. She has, at the present moment, three stations in Germany. *The Free Church of Scotland* has also manifested a serious and lively interest in the Jews. Her labours have been blessed in Hungary in an especial manner. In 1849 an imperial edict suppressed this prosperous Mission. Now Amsterdam and Constantinople, especially the latter, are the principal centres of her activity.

The British Society has been only twelve years in existence. Hitherto its labours have been confined chiefly to London and a few other English towns. There are, however, a few agents in France whose labours have not been in vain.

The Society of Westphalia, founded through the influence of the London Society, is exceedingly active, thanks to the zeal and talents of Pastor Kellhof.

The number of missionaries to the Jews is in reality large, and yet there are some countries inhabited by a considerable number of Jews, and in which there is perfect liberty of worship, which are very rarely visited by any missionary. But alas! there are other countries, the Jewish inhabitants of which are numbered by thousands, entirely closed against the missionary of the Gospel—and these are called Christian countries! May God give us grace to intercede on their behalf, and to humble ourselves for them!

We want courageous missionaries for Israel—devoted and educated men—animated with the zeal and the wisdom of the Apostles, who will live for the Gospel, breathe for the Gospel;

who, entering into the thoughts and sentiments of the Jew, understanding the prejudices of this unhappy nation, will contend with them in love—in a word, we still want indefatigable pastors, full of zeal and meekness, to take the straying sheep in their arms, and bring them to the fold of Christ.

But missionaries alone will not suffice; believers, whatever their position or their ministry, must understand that they are, so to speak, born-witnesses to the truth: kings and priests. True Christians are living epistles to the Jews. Let them, in their relations with the Jews, show this long-despised people love and confidence, and they will prepare the way for the Christian preacher. Without entering into a learned discussion, they may give with simplicity a living demonstration of the love which God has manifested to us in Christ Jesus, and of the peace which He sheds abroad in our hearts. Nothing touches the heart of a Jew like love. Much remains to be said on this subject; but we must refrain, and, before we close, refer to some other missionary societies and labours.

The London Society, from the time of its formation, declared that its object was not to make proselytes, but Christians. To avoid every appearance of proselytism, it was at first resolved not to give any pecuniary help to the Catechumens. But when the good seed sprung up among the Jews, and several, for their love to Christ, abandoned country, family, and relatives, Christian love could not do violence to itself, nor shut its hand any longer, and the *Operative Institute* was established, in which young converts, whilst they are being instructed in the truth, also become printers, compositors, or bookbinders. A little later, some Jews founded a society called *Abrahamite*, the object of which is to help their brethren who are persecuted for the sake of Christ. A few years ago, at a period when the Lord shed an abundant blessing on the labours of the London Society, the missionary Ewald established a home for those Jews who, through tribulation, sought the ways of the Lord. It was called the *Wanderer's Home*. In 1831, *a Society of the Friends of Israel* was formed at *Basle;* in 1832, a *similar society* was established at *Strasburg*. Daughters of the London Society, these two institutions undertook to instruct and to direct the Jewish proselytes, both before and after their joining the Church. The society at Basle publish in French and German an excellent journal, the *Friend of Israel*, and furnish every year interesting reports full of cheering

facts. Another and enlarged work on this subject has been lately published, which contains useful directions on the manner of instructing and directing Jewish proselytes.* These two societies, at the same time that they labour among the Jews around them, help the agents of other societies, and furnish them with the means of support for such Jews as, during their religious instruction or after, have need of help, in different parts of Switzerland, Prussia, and Germany. These two societies receive grants, but the help afforded is not sufficient to allow of the full development of their work. The Lord, however, has enriched them with His blessing.

I can testify that these two societies pursue a work of the highest importance in paying a special attention to the material wants of their protegés. More than once have Jewish schoolmasters been brought to the knowledge of the truth, and in confessing Christ have lost their situation and their resources. A great number of Jews never learn any trade; but it is not so much their fault as it is that of Christians. For centuries they were excluded from all workshops, and obliged to become merchants. When a Jew is converted, he must be furnished with the means of serving an apprenticeship. I will here cite the words of a man most certainly well qualified to give an opinion on the question; Bishop Gobat says: "If you will not enable your proselytes to earn their bread, do not baptize them."

Hitherto, in speaking of the actual work, we have mentioned individuals only; but we have not forgotten the Jews in general. The Jewish mission has hitherto been only as a preparatory work. Let us speak for a moment of the recollections and of the hopes of the people of Israel. Do not fear that I shall attempt to unveil the future, or complacently exhibit a picture of regenerated Israel. All that I desire is to obey the words of Jesus, who commands us to take heed to prophecy and to the signs of the times.

Is it not to be regretted that the words of prophecy should have been so much neglected, and that when the promises made to Israel are under consideration, a mistaken spiritual interpretation is put upon them, while the threatenings are cruelly understood in a literal sense? Does not the bare fact of Israel's

* Der Unterricht und die Pflege jüdischer Israeliten, von J. A. Hausmeister. Heidelberg, 1852.

preservation, when all other nations of antiquity have disappeared, indicate that their history is not yet finished? The same Apostle who proclaims so incessantly the absolute equality of Christians, gives to Israel, as *a people*, the high rank which God, by His irrevocable decree, has always assigned to them. Rom. xi.

St. Paul and all the sacred writers make a distinction between the spiritual kingdom as now constituted, and this kingdom as it shall be constituted in a future period when, realised on this earth, it shall receive from God a spiritual body. This last development is inseparable from the last phase of the history of Israel. Then the Jews shall be assembled again, then they shall possess anew that country which God gave them for eternal ages; then they will render homage to Jesus, the second Joseph, who, despised and sold by his brethren, still nourished them and preserved their lives.

Yes, such will be the end of the history of the Jews. This must be believed if we will believe the clearest declarations of the Old Testament.

These are the promises which pressed on the mind of the Apostle when he said (Rom. xi. 29), "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." It has been asserted, I know, that these promises were fulfilled at the return from the captivity; but I ask you, if the Jewish people found, in their weakness and the oppressions they had to bear after their return, the strength and the greatness which God had promised them by the mouths of the prophets? No; that return was only the type of a glorious one yet to come. The curse is still on the ancient country of Israel. A Jew who, in 1854, came from America for the purpose of visiting the country of his fathers, thus expresses his feelings:—"The Palestine of to-day is not the Palestine of other ages; it is no longer the country of milk and honey. These cannot even be procured. Beef, butter, fish, and good water, are luxuries no longer known in Jerusalem. It may be truly said that nature has undergone a complete change. The brooks are dry; the cisterns contain no water. The entire country is arid and barren. Devastation and ruin reign uncontrolled, and their dominion will continue as long as the curse shall not be removed by the advent of the Messiah, which I hope God will give us to see in this our day."

Israel and Palestine are inseparable; they were created for

each other. The Lord knows how to bring them together again. (Jeremiah xxxi. 4-6, and 10.)

The time and the hour are hidden from us, but that is of little consequence. Let us do our duty; let us preach to the Jews, conscientiously and faithfully, the holy Gospel of God, and God will fulfil His own promise; He will bless those who bless Abraham (Gen. vii. 3). Let us, above all, search the prophecies; they will prevent us from forming carnal ideas of the kingdom of God; they will manifest to us the richness and depth of God's thoughts; they will teach us to wait for the appearing of Christ and to love it; they will fill us, in the day of small things, with patience, faith, and hope.

If their casting away was the reconciling of the world, what shall their ingathering be but life from the dead? (Rom. xi. 15.) This word of prophecy will have its accomplishment. Acquainted with the language and manners of every nation, accustomed to every climate, the Jewish people, after their conversion, will be better qualified than any other to become missionaries. They will employ all their talents, all their resources, which they have gained during their long exile, to bring to their King from the extremities of the earth the people still unconverted. (Is. lxvi. 19, 20.)

But we are not met to paint in its minute details the future glory of the kingdom of God. Members of diverse Christian Churches, we are assembled to show that, notwithstanding our differences on secondary points, we are one as to fundamental doctrines; one in faith, one in love. Oh, that this holy love may fill our hearts, not only to-day, but during our whole lives! May we continually walk in brotherly love, and thus testify to Israel the Divine power of the Gospel.

By these means, this people, who are thirsting after love, will feel themselves drawn by degrees to the Source of all love, to Him who has "so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life!"

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

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RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

THE PRESENT STATE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY THE REV. J. AUGUSTIN BOST,

SEDAN.

The difficulties which stand in the way of evangelisation are of three kinds. The first proceed from the feebleness, or the unfaithfulness of the evangelists themselves, from their want of zeal, of tact, of light, or of love: the second from worldliness on the part of the hearers, from their indifference, or even hostility; and *lastly*, the third, are those which proceed from the material obstacles which arise against the evangelists; such as governments, legislation, and laws, which hinder them from approaching their hearers, to make known to them the truth, either by preaching, or by the distribution of religious works.

We have only to do in this paper with the last species of difficulties, with the shackles which government uses to cramp evangelisation—with the obstacles which evangelisation meets with in the laws of different nations, and, more particularly, in Europe; in a word, with the actual state of religious liberty.

What we understand by religious liberty implies, in the most extended sense, the equality of consciences in the eye of the law. It implies also the absence of every preventive or repressive measure in what concerns belief; and, as a consequence, the absence also of every privilege, and of all intervention on the part of government in the affairs of religion.

The *United States* are perhaps the only country in the world where this system is entirely and openly adopted. This magnificent and free nation is not accustomed, when it has laid down principles, to disown their consequences. Being free, it feels itself strong. It has no pleasure in creating imaginary difficulties, and, when it meets real ones, it knows how to free itself. We do not wish here to cry up its system; we only state the fact that this point of view is the only one which acts as an

entire safeguard of religious liberty, and prevents every encroachment of the temporal power.

In *Europe* we are less advanced. Some countries, however, while maintaining the principle of State churches, have, in their practice, sufficiently abrogated the principle to proclaim loudly the liberty of worship. England, Belgium, and Switzerland, and, in some respects, also Holland, advance in this respect at the head of Europe and of civilisation; and that in spite of numerous reservations, which it would be necessary to point to — as, for instance, with respect to England, where *Church Rates* oppress those who do not belong to the Established Church; with respect to Switzerland, through certain Cantonal regulations; and with respect to Holland, where concessions are made from year to year to Roman Catholicism, in connection with which the authorities of the country, while granting political privileges on the one hand become a source of vexation on the other.

In *Italy*, Piedmont alone understands that man is endowed with a conscience, and that conscience has rights which elude the control, and even lie beyond the province of the State. The noble and unfortunate Charles Albert, of glorious memory, decreed by the statute of February 8th, 1848, article first—"*The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the only religion of the State—the other presently existing communions are tolerated by law.*" This was a very backward statute. It is, moreover, a very narrow and very elastic one, but it means something, and the men who govern Piedmont have shown, since 1848, that they know how to remain faithful to the memory of the liberator of the Vaudois, and that they interpret the law of Charles Albert in the sense of liberty and progress, according to the spirit and not according to the letter, in a large, and not in a niggardly and sectarian sense. Religious liberty is thus recognised as a principle, and there are certain admirable decrees which have given a commentary on the statute in such a way as Italy seems always obliged to speak, in a manner to leave no doubt as to their intentions. The Masino d'Azeglios, the Ratazzis, the Cavours, have spoken in the same way in which the king, whom they loved, used to think.

Unfortunately, if we advance a step further in Italy, and clear the frontier of the Sardinian States, we fall at once upon Spielberg, and the Inquisition. The states of the Church, the

kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Austrian Lombardy, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, jealous of the sanguinary laurels of great potentates, and still seeing the spectre of the Reformer, Scipio de Ricci, under Peter Leopold, borrow their arguments from the middle ages, and from them, also, borrow their brutality, their summary *judgments*, their priestly denunciations; and, if they no longer dare to light the faggots with which to annihilate all mind and conscience, they have their dungeons for punishment, and exile in reserve as an act of grace.

Spain has made a step in advance. The Cortes of 1812 declared, "that the religion of Spain is, and always shall be, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, which is the only true one; the nation protects it by just and wise laws, and interdicts every other form of worship." In 1837, the new constitution simply *set forth* that "the Roman Catholic religion is the only religion professed in Spain; and that the nation binds itself to pay its clergy, and to defray the expense of public worship." In 1845, a third constitution asserted simply the fact that the Roman Catholic religion is professed by Spaniards, and decided that blasphemy (that is to say, attacks upon the Papacy), would be considered no more as a mere *fault* but as a *crime*. In the new constitution of 1855, a cautious wording seems to mark a new era. The article sets forth textually—"The nation binds itself to maintain and to protect the worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion which Spaniards profess; but no Spaniard or stranger may be persecuted for his opinions or his belief as long as he does not manifest them by public actions contrary to religion."

As in Piedmont, this is a small matter in appearance, and yet it is, in fact, an entire revolution of feeling. We may desire and demand more; but it is with principles as with men; they are born children, feeble, and small. We must give them time to develop themselves and to increase. Some ardent struggles, the hope of the future, have taken place in the legislative assembly. It was only by the majority of a few votes (99 against 103), that the true principles have not triumphed. But a victory more complete would have been a defeat, if one may judge from the ardour and half success with which they strove to perform a feat among an ignorant and fanatical people, and the slender concessions that the Government thought it could, or ought, to make to the liberal tendencies of an enlightened age.

The Spanish Government, in proposing this gentle mitigation of the severity of the statute, has laid down already the principle, it has defended and protected it, even while opposing better amendments.* It is in conformity with the constitution of its patient, as they think, that a more healthy regimen would make it fall into a more painful crisis, the issue of which, moreover, no one could foresee. Let us hope that *there*, as in Piedmont, the men, while interpreting the law in a liberal manner, will make a better commentary, and prepare the way, in time, for new progress.

With respect to *Portugal*, it is only by exile that those who have been converted to Protestantism have escaped the penalty of death which is still inscribed in the laws. This is a satisfaction that Portugal owes to the Pope, in expiation for a multitude of petty injuries, underhand rebellions, and resistances, in connection with which it has never hesitated to render itself guilty; and because its parliament manifested, only a few months back, but little reverence for the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception. We must add, to the honour of the Portuguese Government, that it is strongly suspected of winking at the flight of the guilty, and thus relaxing a penalty which it does not consider that it can, with propriety, abolish.

Austria, besides that it is united by so many ties to Italy and Spain, lies too near Germany to allow us to treat of it separately from that assemblage of various countries; and, if it principally represents Catholicism, it represents it rather in a political than a religious point of view—which, indeed, seems to be characteristic of Germany in all questions relating to conscience.

With respect to *Belgium*, it has been able, by a rigorous, logical, and intelligent application of these principles, to win for itself a distinctive place in Europe. The Roman Catholic Church is free in effect—free in all respects—in Belgium; free, even including its Jesuits; but, by an admirable equilibrium, and one which no other Government has yet been able to imitate, the Belgian Protestant Church is also free: without shackles of any description, the synod itself appointing and ruling all ecclesiastical affairs. By the side of these two Churches other Churches have settled themselves down, both Independent and Anglican; conservative and aggressive, and that without encountering the least hindrance in their development. Four of

* Those of Montesinos, Salmezon, Glozaga, &c.

these in Brussels itself, and a great number scattered through the rest of Belgium, almost all carrying on a blessed work of proselytism; sometimes with success—at other times surrounded with private animosities, but always protected by the law, and by a Government which observes the law. Colportage is free, the press is free; and controversy is not allowed to one Church, and refused to others. All Belgians are equal in the eye of the law, to the honour, be it spoken, of the Nestor of contemporary kings—Leopold I.

Some reservations no doubt could be made; some shadows rest upon the picture—nothing is perfect in this world. The law on primary instruction enacts that religious instruction shall be given in the schools by the minister of religion of the majority of the pupils. It follows, of consequence, that Rome has it all; and if the Protestant pupils or the Jews are not obliged to attend the Catholic religious instructions, it does not the less follow that they are in a difficult and sometimes an insupportable position. The Protestant committees, consistories, or associations, cannot obtain the civil rights of individuals, so that their chapels must always remain private property. A petition on this subject, addressed to the Legislative Assembly, produced no effect. Finally, the public mind, always Roman Catholic, is not yet raised to a level with the laws and the constitution; and the pressure of superiors on inferiors sometimes exerts itself in a religious point of view in a deplorable manner; and that not only in individual and private relations, but even in public administrations, and even in the army. Conversions are sometimes an insurmountable obstacle to all advancement; sometimes they take the bread out of the mouth of the poor man. The spirit of Romanism, indeed, much more than the Government, must be held responsible for facts of this sort. The law will educate the people.

In *Switzerland* two tendencies, diametrically opposed to each other, are in constant warfare—sometimes covertly, sometimes openly.

The Federal Constitution lays down, in principle, the liberty of worship; the majority of the Cantonal Constitutions do the same, with more or less precision. But the Constitutions are only worth as much as those are worth who have the management of them. More liberal in appearance than Piedmont, Switzerland has not, throughout, a religious liberty as real, as complete, as that which is

enjoyed in the States of Victor Emmanuel. If the Cantons of Geneva and Neufchatel, for example, understand and respect, without reserve, the rights of conscience and of individuals, the Cantons of Friburg and Vaud seem to subject the conscience of the individual and of Churches to the caprices of the majority. Persecution sleeps sometimes; then, all on a sudden, it unexpectedly wakes up, and those who are beaten are obliged to bear the consequence. Religious liberty, which is inscribed in the laws, and is even admitted in principle by almost all, is practically opposed by the masses, by several newspapers, by some Governments, and by some courts of law.

Holland, in this respect, offers some resemblance to Switzerland. The principle exists; but not only is it not practised, it is not yet really understood. They are honest in demanding an absolute liberty of conscience; but they deceive themselves—for what they wish, at bottom, is liberty for themselves; and they consider all rights granted to others as shackles placed on their own liberty. The ultra-liberal Government of Holland has made, as in Geneva, concessions to the Roman Catholics, in order to secure to themselves a majority in the Chambers and in the nation. The Catholics felicitate themselves on a political status so favourable: which is not saying that they are thankful for it; the Protestants, on the contrary, complain that their rights have been injured; and we see, in a special report that Dr. Cappadose wished much to send us on this subject, how bitter and numerous these complaints are. We must, in fairness, remark that, in consequence of liberty of conscience being guaranteed by the Constitution, religious instruction has been banished from the schools. This state of things results from the equality of communions; but it is clear that it has created a new obligation for the different recognised forms of religion—the obligation themselves to provide for the religious instruction of their children. Let us add that in Holland, as everywhere, men truly religious are almost systematically excluded from public positions and high functions in the State.

Our Dutch brethren may regret it; but this is a phenomenon which presents itself under all kinds of administrations. The excellent journal, the *Nederlander*, jealous of the rights of the living, evangelical, Christian Church, has demanded, with as much energy as talent, the Church's rights. But this cannot be called defending religious liberty.

Along with the Reformed Church, which forms the majority, there are in Holland other Protestant communities, as the Remonstrants, the Lutherans, the re-established Lutheran Church, the Mennonites, and, lastly, the Reformed Dissidents.* The relation subsisting between these bodies scarcely requires mention. They live in peace among themselves, and, since some imprudences committed by the State about twenty years ago, they have been free and unmolested.

Germany is a country altogether by itself. With its emperor, its five kings, its four republics, and its thirty-one dukes or grand dukes; with its two or three Churches, and its populations having such diverse nationalities, it is yet *one* in one respect. This noble country of the great Luther, of Spener, and of Zinzendorf; this land blessed by God, one of the centres of human thought, of philosophy, of theology, and of the fine arts, this country of Germany, without setting up an inquisition, without affecting intolerance, without regret, in perfect honesty, and in the supposed interests of religion, denies the rights of conscience over almost the whole of its territories, and consequently refuses to extend religious liberty beyond the limits of three or four bodies, which have an official character, viz., the *Lutheran*, the *Reformed Church*, the *United Church*, *Catholicism*, and *Judaism*. These are the religious bodies which are received and guaranteed; a man may belong to any one of them, but he cannot leave their communion; or, at least, if he can, it is with difficulty. It is because liberty of conscience is denied systematically and honestly, and not by passion or intolerance, in this eminently religious country, that we shall pause a little to consider the subject, and to inquire into the motives which can influence men who are pious and venerated in the Church to deny so incontestable a right.

Public opinion as to this matter is almost unanimous. The clergy, as it is scarcely necessary to say, and even the best of them, are opposed to liberty of worship; the journals are, in general, very decided; and the Sovereigns wish to retain and to exercise their rights;† Catholics and Protestants are as one here. Dr. Stahl, in a pamphlet published some years ago, and entitled,

* Exposé Historique de l'état des Eglises Reformées des Pays-Bas, 1855. G. van Tyen.

† An assertion a little too absolute, as far as regards the King of Prussia, as the author himself knows.—FRENCH EDITOR.

"*What is the Revolution?*" delivers himself as clearly as possible. He places liberty of conscience side by side with the liberty of the press, representative houses of legislation, and the abolition of the punishment of death, in the number of things which characterise a revolution. To dethrone a king, to replace a monarchy by a republic, is almost nothing; it is only an affair of form, according to this distinguished man. But the foundation, the real foundation of the whole, is the abolition of the punishment of death, the liberty of the press, the liberty of conscience, and the separation of the Church from the State. This mode of seeing the matter, which, as it is easy to convince one's-self of, is that of the majority of serious men in Germany, rests on a misunderstanding, which they call a principle; but which is sufficiently subtle, or at least sufficiently plausible, to mislead enlightened and pious men.*

In maintaining, as they do, the idea of one or two State Churches, and in conforming themselves to those that exist, they hope to set up an embankment against the invasion of new ideas; and, without extravagantly praising what exists, content themselves with fearing something worse. They are afraid of Rationalism; they dread Pantheism; the red spectre terrifies them; so many are the things which, in Germany especially, have unfortunately sometimes appeared to shake hands. Socialism, in the bad sense of the word, has almost always been the herald of the grossest infidelity, of an atheism of the lowest class, of a revolting materialism. They are afraid of seeing these things produce themselves under a religious form; they are afraid of making the least concession to them; of even giving them the right to live. And, under this pretext, they prevent the circulation of air in the Church; they refuse a right; they impose an official lie.

It is a misfortune that, in Germany, liberty of conscience has been most loudly demanded by men who were not in good odour as to their orthodoxy, nor as to their religious or political sobriety — political especially. Circumstances have moulded opinions. Some pious sovereigns, and we may name at their head his Majesty the King of Prussia, have given to Evangelical Orthodox Christianity the most unequivocal marks of good-will.

* We must except, among others, Chevalier Bunsen, who, in his last work, entitled *The Signs of the Times*, delivers himself, in a remarkable manner, in favour of liberty of conscience.—FRENCH EDITOR.

Pious men feel themselves naturally bound by a strong and intimate tie to these sovereigns—these anointed ones of God, who recall to their minds the Davids and the Cyruses; the Rationalistic party, at the same time, keep aloof from them; and this fatal alliance of the one with the other, has created a community of interests which the world has only too well known how to use. Christians are confounded with absolutists, reactionaries have become orthodox, just as in France the partizans of fallen *regimes* have become devotees; and the Liberal party have been obliged to ally themselves to Rationalism, to accept in their turn an unnatural complicity, but which was imposed on them by that alliance of contraries, the throne and the altar. These were then the Liberals, and one ought to give good heed to this, who demanded liberty of conscience. These are they, also, who made it prevail. The assembly of the Federal Parliament of Frankfort, in 1848, laid down in the most absolute manner what was in effect the principle of liberty of worship (articles 14—21), and distinguished carefully that which belongs to the State from that which is the domain of conscience. It was no longer held to be necessary that a man should be a believer, in order to be elected or eligible. Now, this principle is held no more, but one is obliged to preserve the appearance of piety, although he has denied its power. The Diet of Frankfort, of August 23rd, 1851, revoked or abrogated the declaration of the rights of the German people; and, from that time, they have fallen back upon the ancient *regime*.

It would, nevertheless, be unjust to allow it to be believed that everywhere in Germany this negation of liberty is precisely the same, or that it everywhere degenerates into oppression. There are differences which it is a pleasure to mention. First, and that will surprise no one, the Protestant States incline more than the Catholic States towards the recognition of the rights of individual conscience. It is to the Catholic States exclusively that the ecclesiastical judges belong who condemned Borzinsky; it is by them that the dark dungeons have been opened, in which many of our brethren still groan. It is to Austria, which the philosophy of Joseph has not been able to regenerate, that the men belong, who, with impunity, pillaged a Protestant bookseller's shop, at Pesth, tore up the Bibles, and drove away the Missionaries. The Protestant States present nothing like this; and, if we may upbraid them with anything, it is that, by a

chivalrous generosity badly understood, they give more rights to the minority than to the majority, that they allow the Jesuits to insult the Reformed, and condemn pastors, who, under strong provocation, have replied to them. We must still further distinguish between Protestant States themselves; and here, Wurtemberg merits special notice. The State and the Clergy (for the clerical idea still prevails) are there less hostile than elsewhere to liberty of worship. Marriage is celebrated as a civil rite. Pastor Werner, to whom the national pulpits were obliged to be closed on account of his particular opinions as to the Church of the future, and the use of the Word of God in public worship, is able to continue preaching, without hindrance, in private houses. It is the same, also, in the Grand Duchy of Baden; and, if Pastor Eichorn, a high Lutheran, has been not only dismissed from the United Church, a matter simple enough, since he did not hold its doctrines, but has had still further to submit to diverse vexations and trammels in the exercise of his independent ministry, that is rather owing to political circumstances, to troubles in the country, not yet entirely suppressed, than to a systematic intolerance. Rhenish Prussia, and the Wapperthal in particular, are also exceptions to the general rule; and, at Elberfeld, there are two Independent Churches, one of them under the direction of Dr. Kohlbrugge, and the other under that of Pastor Neviandt; neither the one nor the other of which has been, to this day, disturbed, so far as we know.* The same state of things exists with regard to churches at Bremen, Hamburgh, Berlin, and several other places.

To sum up the whole, Germany does not, in principle, admit liberty of conscience, owing less to the denial of the principle itself, than to the fear generally entertained of abuses which might result from it. In practice, as sometimes happens, the principle is overborne by facts, and liberty gains the day. Public opinion is, by degrees, modifying itself in a sense more favourable to the rights of conscience. The Kirchentag, which has had considerable influence since 1848, has made some steps in advance; and the *Evangelical Gazette* of Hengstenberg has not, indeed, proclaimed the principle, yet practically concedes a certain

* A Baptist Church has, also, recently been formed in this large manufacturing town, and they have erected a commodious chapel. There is, perhaps, no part of Germany where there is more Christian life and activity than in this comparatively free and enlightened district.—ED.

extension of the rights of liberty to the Methodists and Baptists for example, but not to the Irvingites or Mormons. And the remarkable fact is, that these are the men most distinguished by their piety, provided they are not Diplomatists, and who approach most nearly in their ideas to tolerance and Christian liberty.

We are not, perhaps, so well situated as our German brethren, to say what is now practicable and possible; but in theory and in principle we are well convinced, and increasingly so, that the air of liberty is only fatal to false doctrines, and that suppression stifles the truth. God makes use of all means. Germany may rise yet; but it is only by liberty that she will return to what she was in the days of the great Luther.

Sweden is much in the same situation as Germany; but much more tenacious, more logical in its tolerance. Doubtless political considerations may have to do with the legislation; but they are less strong than in Germany; and it is much more the Church, the clergy, the ecclesiastical idea, which creates this deplorable intolerance—one of the scandals of Christianity. One day they persecute the Roman Catholics, another day the Baptists, or the *illuminés*, or other independent Christians; sometimes even there are good and simple Christians of the National Church, ignorant of the details of discipline, who experience the rigours of ecclesiastical despotism in fines and imprisonment on bread and water. As at Florence, it is the clergy who denounce the crime, and become the instigators of the persecutions. These last few years seem to have brought new troubles upon those who wish to pray to God out of the establishment. May God graciously succour them! Even now he has already done it. Suppressed by law, the preaching of the Gospel will be carried on apart from the law, and the Church herself will, though too late, applaud it.

Norway, which enjoys a distinct constitution, though under the same king, is more happy than Sweden. Liberty of conscience is there more extended; and assemblies of Christians outside the churches are not prohibited, at least we know of no case of religious persecution there.

Denmark is equally free. The king alone, as in England, is obliged by law to profess the worship of the national establishment. The constitution of Denmark sets forth textually:

Art. 81. The citizens have the right of assembling themselves to render to God the worship which accords with their convic-

tions, as long as they shall not teach nor attempt anything contrary to morals and the public welfare.

Art. 82. No one is obliged to contribute personally to the expense of any other worship but his own (except in so far as concerns public instruction.)

Art. 83. The relations of religious associations, independent of the National Church, are ruled by the law.

Art. 84. No one can, on account of his religious belief, be deprived of the full enjoyment of his civil and political rights, nor escape from the general duties imposed on all the citizens.

With respect to *Russia* we have little to say; and we only mention it here, that we might not have again to return to the countries of the north. Russia is of the Greek religion. The union of Church and State is there so intimate that the same person unites in himself the double office of temporal and spiritual prince. Moscow is Rome, abating a few errors and abuses. It is Rome in the north. There are, indeed, here and there some Lutheran provinces, which were taken from Sweden; these they tolerate. They offer a few thalers to the peasants of Livonia and Courland to induce them to enter the Greek Church; however, if they refuse, they constrain them indirectly to abjure. Russia has reduced the Jews to the condition of Parias, as the Pope has done. Russia has dissolved Bible societies, and proscribed the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. Russia has destroyed the missions to the Caucasus, the missions to Persia, and those to the Crimea; and when the devoted Christians, Swan and Stallybrass, went to carry some glimmering of hope and consolation into the dark and cold solitudes of Siberia, Russia drove away those messengers of peace. But, thanks be to God, there is an autocrat still more powerful than emperors; it is God himself. He has struck with giddiness one of the most powerful monarchs of the world; and now the armies of the west are at the gates of Russia, and demand an entrance. His ways are unfathomable; but a salutary progress will certainly result from the present conflict between Russia and the west.

France and *England*, which march at the head, if not of the world, at least of Europe, which resemble each other in so many respects, and which differ in so many others, acknowledge in common certain great principles, on which rest all that is durable in the future—indeed, all true greatness. They recognise the

rights of the individual in the matter of conscience; they admit and practise liberty of worship.

England, in the moral order, has got the start of France. The author of "Robinson Crusoe" was the last victim, or nearly so, of religious intolerance in England. "Liberty of thought," says a contemporary author, "is the natural, spontaneous, and necessary consequence of the Reformation. It existed, in fact, and even in principle, over almost all Europe, from the sixteenth century; but England was the first to make it a right: she surrounded it with legal guarantees, and adopted it among her institutions. She did not, then, invent liberty of thought any more than political liberty, of which the track is easily to be followed all through the middle age; but she had the honour of converting these abstractions into living and imperishable realities. And it is for that that thou shalt be always dear to humanity, and great among the nations, oh, people of liberty!"*

In fact, whilst Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, and Christians were sent to the galleys for being present at assemblies held in the desert, England, inspired perhaps by Bruno, and following the steps of Bacon, had placed more noble intellects at the service of the most noble of causes—Locke, Shaftesbury, Collins, Toland, Tyndal, Woolston, Bolingbroke, and Swift, and even Hobbes himself—and, in spite of himself, paved the way for public opinion and the eighteenth century. Liberty of conscience became a right, in spite of the written right—in spite of law; and there is no country in which all the liberties, and particularly liberty of conscience, are more jealously protected than in England. There, the cause of one man is the cause of all; the cause of conscience is the cause of God. In England, every man may open a place of worship; print, distribute or sell pamphlets; open a school; found a Church; preach in his house, in the street, or in a park. Liberty of worship is there absolute.

It remains to be explained why a dissenter should be obliged to pay ecclesiastical taxes, as *church-rates*, (but this abuse is about to disappear); why Jews cannot sit in Parliament, (this abuse also we must hope will not be long in disappearing); and why the head of the State should also be head of the Church; and must, of consequence, profess Anglicanism, even when his convictions would carry him elsewhere.

* Lanfrey L'Eglise et les Philosophes du Dix Huitième Siècle, chap. v.

We do not blame England, either as to the legal sanctification of the Lord's-day, which they ridicule so much in France, nor as to the interdiction of Roman Catholic processions; because, in both these cases, rights so repugnant to the mass of the people, if given to the minority, would become evidently a material injury to the rights of the majority. We do not charge her with oppressing Ireland; for, in a religious point of view, England does as much for that part of her kingdom as for the other parts; she has not hesitated to fulfil her duty as a nation by sending Catholic as well as Protestant chaplains to the army of the East. We do not wish either to reflect upon her indignation at the Papal aggression; for when we have to do with Rome, we never know well whether it is an affair that concerns the State or religion—whether the intervention is religious or political.

England, however, has some steps yet to take, and she will take them.

With respect to *France*, after two hundred and fifty years of cruel and exasperated persecutions, she has finished by recognising the rights of man. The edict of Nantes, given by Henry IV., granted toleration, without proclaiming the principle. The revolution proclaimed not only the toleration that Mirabeau sought, but the equality of worship that Rabaut demanded. The National Assembly declared, on the 3rd of September, 1791 (Art. 10), that *no one ought to be disturbed for his opinions, even religious, provided their manifestation does not trouble the public order established by law.*

The Emperor Napoleon I. swore to our Churches, at the time of his coronation, to maintain *liberty of worship*. As if by anticipation, he branded with the name of Nero, and devoted to public scorn, whoever after him, were he even of his race, "should forget the oath" that he had to take, and should violate it.

The Restoration attempted to re-constitute a State religion. It endeavoured to frame a law on sacrilege; but it was obliged to withdraw it, and then to withdraw itself.

The constitutional charter of August 9, 1830, reproduced the principle of the preceding charter (Art. 5), "that everyone may profess his religion with equal liberty, and obtain for his worship the same protection."

Louis Philippe regarded his oath during the first years of his

reign; afterwards he thought he would become popular, and strengthen his throne by flattering the Roman Catholic clergy. Under his reign they persecuted peaceable citizens who read the Bible together.

The Republic maintained liberty of worship, but always made advances to the priests.

The constitution of the Empire maintains, in like manner, the great principles of 1789, which it has not attempted to change up to this day; but, without making special mention of religious liberty, except incidentally, in connexion with the Senate, which is charged to see that it is respected. The Emperor has several times, and that very clearly, declared himself in favour of liberty of worship. The principle may be considered as secured in France; and, when we can say that, it is much.

Sometimes in practice, it must be acknowledged, we are less happy than in England. We have seen as many as forty temples shut, and a great number of schools. Opposition has been made, *on the ground of public morals*, to the opening of Protestant schools. Nearly twenty law-suits, as to matters exclusively religious, have taken place within the last three years, and we have lost almost all of them. Our soldiers shed their blood in the Baltic and in the Crimea; and they have but a single chaplain with an official title. This very painful state of things results from two causes, which it is easy to understand.

In the first place, the priesthood are alarmed at the moderate but serious success which we obtain when we can ourselves make known our claims. They then complain, and that so loudly as to make themselves heard. They calumniate us, and the authorities allow themselves to listen to their words.

In the second place, it is owing to the political state of the country, and the fear that religion may only serve as a mask for politics. They understand, in effect, that, all other avenues being closed, the spirit of opposition must advance in the only way still left for its manifestation. Nevertheless, it has been certified, both in the *Haute Vienne* and the *Saone et Loire*, and at *Estissac*, and everywhere, that the Protestants were strangers to all political movements. Perhaps they only fear that they may appear suspected of having tendencies of which the consequences might possibly be favourable to a greater extension of public liberty. History is at hand to calm all such fears. The Protestants have never furnished regicides, even at the time

when they were outlawed; and as they have always understood the dignity of man, the rights of man, and the rights of conscience, they have never been found on the barricades. Catholic chaplains have been given to criminals transported to Lambessa and Cayenne, the Government itself having distinctly asserted that there were scarcely any Protestants among them. It is not from Protestants, independent or national, that the Government has any danger to fear, but from those numerous Catholics, without faith or law, who can, at a given moment, in the spirit of opposition, unitedly declare themselves Protestants. As to what may be said on that head, two words will serve as a reply. First, it is not very probable that men without either faith or law would think of embracing *any* form of religion; they would rather insult them all. At least, up to the present time, they have never manifested any willingness to become Protestants. In their eyes, Protestantism is too Christian, too severe, too Puritan. They have said as much often enough. Secondly: It is, moreover, very certain that, with this state of feeling, they would not find a single Protestant pastor who would consent to receive them as members of the Church on such conditions. Thirdly: If at length, for we must foresee everything, they could get into our Church, by a sort of oversight, they would then hear, in place of the maxims of Suarez and Mariana, the word of the Master, as follows:—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." (Rom. xiii. 1, Titus iii. 1). But, be that as it may, it is rather in consequence of political prejudices than owing to a systematically evil desire, that liberty of conscience has to encounter with us so many obstacles in practice. We must still add to this the obsequious and unintelligent zeal of a mass of subordinate functionaries, happy in possessing a little authority, happy in making double-court to the priest and to the Government, and in showing themselves to be more imperial than the Emperor, and almost as ecclesiastical as the Church.

There is a time for everything. We can wait and hope. Let us imitate the patience of our brethren, who have submitted to various trials, and let us count upon the gradual mitigation both of political disturbances and of hindrances; let us depend upon the solemn word of the Emperor, and let us know how to hope

even against hope. The principles exist; we would wish that it was even everywhere else the same.

It is not necessary to add that in *Catholic countries situated out of Europe* religious liberty does not exist; they do not even know the name of it, either in Mexico or in the Brazils, or in Chili. As to Peru, the constitution (if it has one) sets forth as follows:—"The religion of the State is the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; the nation protects it by all means in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel, and does not permit the exercise of any other"—an assertion which is scarcely in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel. New Grenada and St. Domingo form perhaps an exception; at all events, different facts have appeared in these countries, which for the moment break the fixedness of Roman intolerance. New Grenada has proclaimed the independence of Church and State, and the Emperor Soulouque has testified his interest and respect for the religion of the Bible.

With respect to countries not Christian, *Turkey*, open to the influence of all good ideas, has learnt how much there is of barbarism in the artificial compression of the conscience, and proclaimed, a year ago, not only liberty of worship, but—what is a remarkable token of progress in this respect—the abrogation of infamous laws that Ottoman intolerance had made to hang over the Christians. (See Firmans of November 1850, April 1853, May 1853, June 1855.) Numerous Protestant churches are erected, schools are opened without having been closed again in the name of morals; a Bible Society is established, to which the ambassadors of Britain and the United States have granted the assurance of their Christian sympathies. A committee of the *Evangelical Alliance* is formed, consisting of different denominations of Christians, and has commenced its work in the midst of the horrors of the war. The Sultan, Abdul-Medjid, has, in these respects, gone in advance of public opinion in his country, and has thus placed himself higher than the Pope, and some other Christian princes. Protestants in Turkey are buried more decently than in Spain.

In *Asia*, the kingdom of *Siam* is the only one which has made a formal declaration in favour of liberty of worship; and that, as the consequence of the labours of Gutzlaff and Medhurst, and certainly under the influence of Christian ideas. It is evident that respect for conscience can only grow out of Christianity.

However, other countries practise liberty of conscience, as if sometimes works preceded faith. Not to speak of *India*, which is entirely placed under English influence, and in which all Evangelical or Roman convictions manifest themselves freely, we may mention *China*, which, in spite of its thick wall, has permitted the truth to penetrate into the bosom of error, and the missionaries of all denominations to move about with a certain liberty. We learn that the blessed missionary, Gutzlaff, was a Mandarin of the third class—the highest dignity which a man can reach in that country, unless he were an admiral or general of the army.

In *Africa*, the Gospel is preached nearly everywhere, without encountering any other obstacles than those which result from the opposition of the human heart to the doctrine of the cross.

With respect to *Polynesia*, it is almost altogether in the hands, or under the influence of European powers. We have seen in these islands scattered over the ocean, not only England practising equality and liberty of worship, but (alas!) France there commanding with her cannons, and planting her Jesuits in an island altogether Protestant, which did not require to be made a refuge for a body that had been banished from all the States of Europe. We may add, that the Government of Louis Philippe fell on that very day when these first Missionaries landed at Havre on their return from their odious and ridiculous mission, and deploring their want of success.

This very general and too superficial glance which we have taken at the actual state of the world, enables us, in closing, to sum up with the following affirmations:—

1. Liberty of conscience was born with the Gospel.
2. It revived with the Reformation.
3. It develops itself, day by day, in the same measure as the progress of the Gospel extends in the world.
4. It develops itself as a result, sometimes direct, and sometimes indirect, of the Gospel; direct, in the case of those who admit the Divinity of Christianity; indirect, in the case of philosophers, who know the rights of free examination, and who see in man a thinking being.
5. Protestant countries are, in this respect, further advanced than Catholic countries.

6. The principal obstacle to liberty of conscience, even in Protestant countries, is found in the fiction of a State-religion.

7. Persons having serious convictions are, in general, more liberal than the cold and indifferent, whatever their convictions in other respects may be; because, in the case of the first, conscience acts; in the case of the others, it is a simple matter of convenience or inconvenience.

In conclusion, we see—

1. That true and entire liberty of conscience can only *follow*, and cannot *precede*, the triumph of the Gospel.

2. That, without disturbing ourselves with the laws inscribed in the codes of nations, we ought to proclaim in every place, in season and out of season, the doctrines and the good news of Christ.

3. That, as subsidiarily, the restriction of liberty of worship constitutes a real obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel, and, as liberty of conscience is susceptible of being understood and accepted by the understanding and the heart, even without faith, it is of importance that we use every means, especially that of the press, to plead this sacred cause before governments and before nations.

4. That, as liberty of conscience is often attacked or refused on grounds altogether foreign to the question, such as fears, prejudices, prevention of evil, accidental circumstances, we must be careful always to separate the question of principle from the question of fact, and, in practice, to avoid everything which would tend either to promote or prolong a dangerous confusion, or to furnish weapons to those who deny, on principle, the rights of conscience, or who seek for anything else in our worship than the special and true worship rendered to a God who is Spirit and Truth.

5. That the *Evangelical Alliance* being organised, as far as this matter is concerned, for the defence of the principle of liberty of conscience, ought to have some devoted and avowed agents, who, ostensibly, and in every country where it could be done, should labour constantly to enlighten public opinion as to this matter, both by their personal influence, and by such other means as wisdom and experience would suggest to them.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

The preceding paper by M. Bost, although it is now published with the others, as well by the French editor, as in this volume, was not read in the Conference. It is both proper and important to state the circumstances connected with its suppression, in the first instance, and subsequent publication.

In the arrangements for the Conference, as agreed upon between the two committees of Paris and London, it was determined that ample opportunity should be given for the discussion of the subject to which it relates. The intolerance, which almost everywhere prevails on the Continent, in Protestant as well as in Roman Catholic countries, and the persecutions which, as the consequence, are endured by many Christian brethren, were to be brought under the attention of the Conference, with a view to some practical steps being adopted in reference to them. Most serious infringements of personal liberty on religious grounds, and of the liberty of education and public worship, had taken place in France itself; similar wrongs had been endured in various parts of Germany and Sweden, to say nothing of the still more terrible inhumanities perpetrated in Austria and Tuscany. In some cases these wrongs were of long standing, and frequent repetition; in others, of more recent occurrence; in some, they were also practised in aggravated forms, extending to such an infliction of fines and confiscation of goods, as amounted to the ruin of families; to incarceration, attended with severities which permanently impaired the health, and threatened even the lives of the sufferers; to an almost total deprivation of civil rights; to the denial of the marriage rite, and to expatriation for life. Many attempts had, moreover, been made to obtain an amelioration of those stringent and repressive laws by which these sufferings were occasioned, but made without effect. Governments had been memorialised, and some of them visited by deputations appointed for the purpose, but with little apparent,

and with no really satisfactory result. Under these circumstances, it was felt to be a solemn duty, which such an assembly as was likely to convene in Paris owed to persecuted brethren in all countries, nor less to our common Protestantism, and even to the Christian religion itself, that its voice should be heard in vindication of Religious Liberty. Accordingly, the subject was placed in the hands of M. Bost, a Christian brother well qualified to discuss it, with instructions to collect facts and digest them, to enunciate the principle and defend it, and in a word, to prepare a paper, which, being read at one of the meetings, might lay the groundwork of the intended discussion, and of the practical measures to issue from it. In deference, at the same time, to certain Continental opinions and influences, it was conceded that the discussion should not be introduced under the honest and intelligible title of Religious Liberty, but under the euphonious periphrasis of *Impediments to the Work of Evangelization.*

It occasioned, therefore, no small surprise to the English brethren, when they arrived in Paris, to find that the subject had totally disappeared from the programme. On inquiry, they were told that the committee had been obliged to omit it at the instance of the authorities of the two churches, the Lutheran Church of the Redemption, and the Independent Church of the Taitbout, in which the meetings were to be held, neither of them being willing to allow its introduction into the edifice they controlled. And to this adverse conclusion, it was added, these respected friends had reluctantly come, on the ground that their own liberties were held by so precarious a tenure that they could not venture the risk involved in allowing a discussion on such a subject. It still further appeared that, not in relation to this subject only, but altogether, the Conference was to be divested of a deliberative and practical character, and restricted simply to the reception of intelligence and the interchange of the courtesies of brotherly love.

The first three days of the Conference passed away; these things, meanwhile, pondered in many hearts, and in those of the English brethren above all, who feeling intensely the importance of the obliterated subject, and having been parties to the original arrangement for its introduction, could not conceal their disappointment. They felt, on the one hand, how necessary it was that nothing should be done or even said, during the proceedings of the Conference, that might compromise their French brethren

with their own Government. They knew, at least they were credibly informed, that agents of the government were present in all their meetings, and that everything was daily reported to the police. And this statement they could the more readily believe, from a little circumstance which may here be incidentally mentioned. The Conference was desirous that opportunities should be offered for freer intercourse than could take place during the meetings for business. For this purpose it was enquired if arrangements could not be made for the brethren, so many of them as were disposed, to dine together between the morning and evening meetings. They were told the thing was not possible without an authorization, but the committee very kindly added that they would apply for it. Three days the authorities took to consider the request. At length, the answer came and the boon was conceded—but conceded with the written condition that no hymn should be sung, nor any speech be made, and that three gentlemen of the police, in plain clothes, should sit at the side table to observe all that took place. In the face of such a fact, it could not be questioned that the French brethren were placed in very difficult and trying circumstances. Ardent lovers of liberty as any members of the Conference, they were, nevertheless, compelled to use the utmost circumspection; and it was a manifest duty, on the part of their guests, to use great prudence, lest, however unintentionally, they might become the cause of a still more rigorous surveillance being imposed upon their brethren, or of a still further abridgment of their liberty. On the other hand, they could not but regard their own position as one of scarcely less difficulty. It was well known that the eyes of Christendom were upon the proceedings of the Conference; the persecuted were looking to it for sympathy and succour, and it is not too much to say that their oppressors were watching it with very different views. It was impossible that the English brethren could consent to this imposed silence. Whatever present inconvenience might result to the Protestants of France from breaking through the restraint, it was justly apprehended that evils incomparably greater would ensue, if, at this crisis, the friends of religious freedom evaded their responsibility, or seemed to falter at their post.

A few of them accordingly, who were more especially expected to watch over this particular subject, after much thought and mutual consultation, resolved to incur the responsibility of calling

together all the brethren from Great Britain and Ireland and the United States, extending the invitation to brethren of other countries who understood the English language, and laying the whole matter before them. This was done on Monday morning, August 27th. After the necessary explanations had been given, the meeting was addressed by John Henderson, Esq., who presided on the occasion, and by the Rev. F. Monod, of Paris; the Rev. E. Kuntze, of Berlin; the Rev. Dr. Paton, of New York; the Revs. J. Jordan, Dr. Hoby, W. Dallas, N. Macleod, B. W. Noel, Dr. Steane, and Captain Young; and issued in the appointment of a committee, to whom the future guidance of the matter was confided, and to whom a special instruction was given to draw up a short document, which should assert in as simple a form as possible the principle of universal religious liberty, with a view to its being ultimately proposed for adoption to the Conference. The committee was composed of brethren from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, Turkey, Great Britain, Ireland, and America.

The committee met the same evening, and not only agreed upon such a definition of Religious Liberty as they were instructed to prepare, but divided itself into several sub-committees, who were appointed to advise what practical measures might be adopted in relation to those countries where intolerance principally prevailed.

Next morning, at eight o'clock, and before the Conference opened, the English-speaking brethren re-assembled to receive the report of their committee, and which, at their desire, was brought up by Dr. Steane. The definition which they presented, and which, with the introduction of a few explanatory words, in no way affecting its substance, is that which had been adopted by the Homburg Conference,* was accepted, and the appointment of the sub-committees was confirmed.

The Rev. Dr. Baird, of New York, now expressed his opinion that a larger paper should be prepared, pressing the subject on the attention of governments and also of the Christian people of the Continent generally; and that if the Conference felt a difficulty in sending forth such an address, it should be issued in the name of the English-speaking members. So far as the preparation of the paper went, this proposal met with much support;

* For an account of this Conference, held specifically with a view to the advancement of Religious Liberty, see *Evangelical Christendom* for 1853, vol. vii., p. 306.

but it was determined to be very undesirable that any document should be issued except by the Conference itself. It was ultimately found impracticable, amidst the demands of the numerous meetings, to give either the time or the calm attention which are necessary to the production of such an address, and the consideration of it was referred to the Homburg committee.

It now became important to ascertain if the French brethren would feel themselves free to submit to the Conference, for its adoption, the resolution asserting the principle of Religious Liberty, which the English-speaking brethren had prepared. On consideration, they expressed their willingness to do so; but they were still of opinion that no discussion could be allowed; and that the proposition must be simply read from the chair, and the vote be taken upon it. There was no question with them on the principle itself, or on the terms in which it was expressed, nor did they doubt that it would be unanimously accepted by the Conference; but they thought it right to act with great discretion. They were desirous also that there should be coupled with it an expression of sympathy with the persecuted, and a recommendation to the Homburg committee to pursue its labours. On these points there could be but one sentiment. Two other resolutions were accordingly drawn, and the whole were presented in one series to the Conference by the Rev. G. Fisch, the Chairman of the French Central Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, and carried by acclamation in the following terms:—

1. That, in the judgment of this Conference, consisting of Christian brethren assembled in the providence of God from many countries, and of various Protestant and Evangelical denominations, it is the right of every man, in so far as his fellow men are concerned, to worship God as well publicly as in private, according to his conscience, and to propagate the faith he holds by every means not contrary to morals or good order, or to that obedience to Government which is enjoined in the Word of God.

2. That this Conference, having had its attention repeatedly called to the persecutions endured by many Christian brethren for conscience sake, takes occasion to express its sympathy with them under their sufferings, and to commend them to the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ.

3. That this Conference, considering the extent to which into-

lerance exists on the Continent of Europe, exercised as well against Roman Catholics and Jews as against Protestants, and impressed with the importance of continued efforts to obtain that religious liberty which the Conference has already affirmed in its preceding resolution, earnestly recommends the committee of the Homburg Conference to persevere in its labours in order to this end, and to enlarge its numbers by the addition of brethren from America and other countries.

Thus far, it will be seen, the meetings of the English-speaking brethren were attended with a happy influence, and produced a good result. It would have been a cause of profound and permanent regret, which no experience of the gratifications of Christian fellowship, and the acquisition of no amount of information could have compensated, if such an assembly, gathered from so many Churches and countries, and meeting in the most influential of continental metropolitan cities, had been suffered to pass away without lifting up its solemn and united protest against the tyranny which tramples on the human conscience, and giving documentary embodiment to its loving sympathy with the oppressed and persecuted children of God. But this was now done, and satisfactorily done. The resolutions, it is true, were adopted by the Conference without discussion; but they had been thoroughly discussed out of the Conference, and by the principal brethren of all the countries of whom the Conference was composed. Their import and significance were on all hands well understood. The first and most important of them had been before the brethren for two years in no less than four of the principal languages of Europe—the French, German, Italian, and English; and had been the subject of debate in many circles, and of attack and defence from the press by men of European and still wider reputation. It was not, therefore, in blindness either to the nature or the extent of the liberty asserted, nor in inconsiderate disregard of the terms defining it, that this resolution was adopted. It was not carried by a *coup-de-main*. On the contrary, everything was well known and entirely approved before the vote was called for; and if discussion was waived in the Conference, it was scarcely more in deference to the imposed restriction than in the conviction that it was not needed. Hence the vote was no sooner proposed than it was received with enthusiasm and carried amidst the acclamations of the assembly.

But by this time it had become evident that, although this step had been taken, and taken so satisfactorily, the matter could not be dismissed without carrying it still further. It was well to have asserted the principle, and to have asserted it on no narrow or sectarian grounds, but in a broad and comprehensive sense—a sense which claims for every man's conscience that it is a domain into which no human authority whatever has a right to enter, and into which, if it does enter, it invades the prerogative and usurps the sovereignty which belong alone to God. No doubt the proposition, as thus laid down, is an abstract and philosophical principle, but the objection urged against its adoption on this ground is of little weight; since it is not the less Christian because it is philosophical, nor the less necessary to be affirmed because it is abstract. Besides, whatever in human conduct is practically wise and good rests upon a substratum of abstract principles; and the moral government of God, of which Christianity is the last and most perfect revelation, is itself a development of antecedently existing moral principles. And, unquestionably, one of these principles, essential and fundamental to all good government, whether human or Divine, is apprehended and proclaimed when the distinction is maintained between "the things which are Cæsar's and the things which are God's." It was, therefore, a thing becoming and proper to be done, and to be done first, for united Protestant Christendom to bear its testimony to the inviolability of conscience, and to warn off all intruders, from the pettiest policeman to the most absolute monarch, from profanely setting their foot within that hallowed enclosure which the Most High claims as being exclusively His own.

But the principle, though an abstraction, is not barren; and they who had thus laboured to procure its affirmation now went on labouring, applying it to practical ends. The countries to which they sought on this occasion to apply it were three—Turkey, Germany, and Sweden.

In the first-named of these countries the penalty of death, at that time, followed the profession of Christianity by one who was born a Mohammedan. It was clearly a duty to give the moral weight of the Conference to the efforts which had been already made to procure the abolition of this sanguinary and inhuman law; or, if an organic law of the Ottoman Empire, and one, moreover, resting, as it is said, on the authority of the Koran

itself, might not be formally abolished, at least to obtain some concession from the Sultan, that it should never again be enforced. The mode in which this might best be done engaged the attention of the English-speaking brethren, and they agreed on the preparation of memorials, one to be presented to the Sultan himself, and others to the allied Sovereigns of France, Sardinia, and England, and also to the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia and Holland, and the President of the United States.

While these documents were being prepared, consideration was given to the case of Germany and Sweden. It is unnecessary in this place to repeat the statements which have again and again been given to the public, in the pages of *Evangelical Christendom*, of the sufferings inflicted on Christian brethren by the intolerance practised in those countries. The persecutions endured in connexion with the recent religious awakenings in Sweden had been already brought under the notice of the Conference in the paper read by Dr. Bergman. A faint attempt was made to extenuate, and even to deny them, by two Lutheran clergymen, who had been sent to the Conference from Sweden for this purpose. Their efforts, however, were not only unsuccessful, as it was certain they would be, in the face of notorious facts which had rung through Christendom, but they gave occasion to an extraordinary outburst of eloquent and godly indignation, on the part of one of the most eminent of the French brethren, which was enthusiastically echoed by the whole assembly.* They were burning words—and let them again be recorded here—in which M. Frederic Monod expressed this righteous condemnation, which thrilled through every heart and embodied the common sentiment—"*Honte à la persécution Catholique Romaine! mais triple honte, à la persécution Protestante!* Quand l'Eglise Romaine persécute, elle obéit à ses instincts et à ses principes; mais quand une Eglise Protestante persécute, elle se renie elle même, elle renie l'Evangile dont elle fait profession!" But the persecutions in Germany, though not perhaps carried on upon quite so large a scale, were as flagrant and notorious as those in Sweden; and in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, had lately become so intolerable, that it was impossible not to take some step in relation to them. It was determined, therefore, to recommend the Conference to appoint the nucleus of a deputation, and afterwards to invite the

* See p. 356.

religious societies and the Churches of Protestant countries generally, to augment it, and send it, in their joint names, to the King of Sweden and the King of Prussia, with power to visit other Governments, if they should find it necessary. The object of the deputation was defined in the following terms :—

"1. To express to the Governments and Sovereigns visited the sorrow which the churches and religious societies represented feel at the restrictions put upon Religious Liberty in the countries which they govern.

"2. To solicit that all the branches of the Protestant Church may be allowed to serve God according to their conscience, and to worship Him peaceably together, each in the observance of its own peculiar rites.

"3. To express the conviction entertained by the Conference, and the churches and societies represented, that no persons should be molested for their religious opinion and practice, so long as they do not offend against morality and the safety of the State."

These measures resolved on, a communication was sent to the French brethren, desiring to know if they would sanction their introduction to the Conference and recommend their adoption. Again, they urged the obligation under which they were placed not to allow discussion, and especially on those subjects ; while they expressed their opinion that, if two specific and practical measures of so grave a character as memorialising the Emperor of the French, and other Sovereigns, on Religious Liberty in Turkey, and sending a deputation to Germany and Sweden, were introduced, it would be impossible to prevent discussion. The English-speaking brethren, it was answered, desired discussion, for by this time they began to feel little apprehension of any evil result. It was suggested, therefore, that perhaps the difficulty might be met if the circumstances were frankly stated at one of the regular meetings of the Conference, and a special meeting were summoned to receive the proposals and deal with them as might then seem best. This suggestion was accepted, and on Saturday, the last day of the Conference, the special meeting was held.

At this meeting Sir Culling E. Eardley was called to the chair. It was well attended, and, as had been agreed upon, exclusively by men. The subjects were introduced, and first the memorials. A free debate ensued, in the course of which some of the French brethren expressed their sentiments on the absence of Religious Liberty in France, and said that to them it appeared somewhat

singular, at least, that the Conference should memorialise the Emperor for freedom in Turkey, and have nothing to say to him about freedom in France. The propriety of the former measure, however, not at all depending on the latter, it was adopted with entire and cordial unanimity. Then came the proposal for a deputation to Germany and Sweden. When one of the brethren was advocating this measure, another brother, of deservedly great celebrity, and high ecclesiastical position in Prussia, ventured to deny that there was any intolerance in that kingdom. The writer himself was impelled to reply, and in doing so laid before the assembly some recent instances of the infliction of fines and imprisonment in Prussia, mentioning one case in particular in which, upon a statement of the facts being laid before the King, his Majesty had himself paid the fine, that the poor man might not be sent to prison. He also spoke of the persecutions in Hesse Cassel, in Saxe Meiningen, in Schaumberg Lippe, and above all, in Mecklenburg, some of the facts related by him scarcely finding credence until he assured the meeting that he was personally cognizant of them, having visited those states for the purpose of enquiring into them, and that he could produce, since he had already published,* documentary evidence for all he had advanced. The result was a unanimous vote appointing the deputation. The parties named by the Conference to form the nucleus were:—For *France*, Revs. F. Monod and L. Vallette; for *Holland*, Mr. Elout de Souterwoude; for *Piedmont*, Rev. M. Meille; for *Switzerland*, Count de St. George and M. A. Naville; and for *England*, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir C. E. Eardley, Rev. J. C. Ryle, and Rev. Dr. Steane.

Here, then, amidst the hearty congratulations of all, the steps taken by the English brethren were crowned, by God's blessing, with complete success. The meeting just held was felt to be one of almost greater moral value than any that had taken place, and it broke up with the conviction resting on the minds of all who had attended it, that the Conference of Paris had earned for itself no mean place in the future history of Religious Liberty; and, with one sentiment of thankfulness pervading all hearts that the precious opportunity had not been lost to assert, with the united voice of Protestant Christianity, that Christ alone is Lord of Conscience, and that man's faith and worship must everywhere be free.

* See a pamphlet entitled "Results of an Investigation into Cases of Protestant Persecution on the Continent."

MEMORIALS AND DEPUTATION

ON

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

IN

TURKEY AND GERMANY.

I.

MEMORIALS ON TURKEY, WITH ANSWERS.

II.

MEMORIAL ON GERMANY, WITH ANSWER.

MEMORIALS RELATING TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN TURKEY.

I.

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE SULTAN ABD-UL-MEDJID.

September 5, 1855.

May it please your Highness,—We your Highness's memorialists, representing many nations, and almost every Protestant denomination in Europe and America, assembled in conference in the city of Paris, gratefully acknowledge the promulgation of the decrees and firmans on behalf of your Rayah subjects, and especially those of the Protestant faith, involving many valuable and salutary concessions to the cause of civil and religious liberty, which have already made your Highness's name memorable in the annals of civilised legislation. We have learned, however, with feelings of profound regret, that in very many instances the firmans are disregarded, and your Highness's benevolent intentions completely frustrated by the persecutions which your Protestant subjects endure from officers and members of those communities from which they have conscientiously withdrawn, and this in some cases with the assent and co-operation of the local authorities of the Porte. We, therefore, humbly entreat your Highness to give practical effect to the principles of religious liberty already proclaimed, so that this liberty may be maintained with energy throughout the empire, and that of every name those who change their religious profession shall not be exposed on that account to persecution, oppression, or wrong.

Your memorialists are well aware of the numerous difficulties which your Highness has to encounter, from the opinion and prejudices of many classes of your subjects, in giving effect to the pledges of religious liberty so generously accorded by your Highness. But they feel constrained to bring to your notice the fact that such persecutions are much more frequent and

violent, owing to the indifference or actual connivance of provincial officers, who seem to set your Highness's firmans and the Tanzemant itself at nought.

Assured of your Highness's gracious dispositions, we humbly entreat you to take effectual measures to prevent influential persons in the State from persecuting their poorer fellow-citizens; and to make your officers, especially those in the provinces remote from the capital, responsible for the strict performance of their duty in all such cases.

Your memorialists have heard, with most painful feelings, that your Highness's Mohammedan subjects do not share in the liberties guaranteed to the Christians, and that even that sanguinary law which so shocks the most sacred feelings of all Christian nations, by its infliction of death on Mohammedans who change their religious belief, is still practically in force.

Your memorialists acknowledge, with gratitude to Almighty God, the value of the pledge given by your Highness on March 21, 1844; but entertaining doubt as to its application to the case of Mohammedans by *birth*, respectfully and earnestly entreat your Highness to make it so comprehensive as to embrace ALL classes of your Highness's subjects, Mussulman as well as Christian, and that liberty to adopt another profession of faith be extended to ALL, without fear of penal consequences.

(Signed by)

CULLING EARDLEY EARDLEY, Bart.
COUNT DE ST. GEORGE.
MEILLE, Pastor at Turin.
Dr. BAIRD.
Dr. DUFF.
CARL BERGMAN, Doctor of Medicine and Philosophy, Pastor in Sweden.
Dr. F. W. KRUMMACHER, Preacher of the Court at Potsdam.

II.

Copy of Memorial addressed (mutatis mutandis) to the Emperor of the French, the Queen of England, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the King of Holland, the King of Sardinia, and the President of the United States.

SIRE,—Your humble memorialists, belonging to several nations, and to almost every Protestant denomination in Europe

and America, met together in conference in Paris, unite in respectfully beseeching your Majesty, in concert with Her Majesty the Queen of England, and other Christian Powers, to use your influence with the Government of Turkey, that it may establish religious liberty in the States under its jurisdiction, in favour of all the subjects of that vast empire, without distinction. The cruel persecutions which the members of the Roman Catholic Church seceding from the Armenian and Greek Churches in the Ottoman Empire, had to endure from their former co-religionists, are yet within the memory of all. The intervention of the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe succeeded in obtaining in favour of the victims of intolerance, that liberty of conscience and of worship to which all men are entitled. But there are other subjects of the Sultan, *Protestant* Christians, who are persecuted by the officers or members of the above-named communions, because of their secessions, and this with the consent and co-operation of Turkish authorities.

Another subject of yet more serious importance, which shocks the most sacred feelings of all Christian nations, is the barbarous law which condemns to death Mohammedans who renounce Islamism to embrace Christianity—a law which, as is proved by a case of recent occurrence resting on unquestionable testimony, is still rigorously enforced.

Your memorialists humbly entreat your Majesty to use your powerful influence with his Highness the Sultan, to obtain from that monarch the formal and positive assurance that for the future the principle of religious liberty which he has proclaimed, shall be maintained with energy through all the extent of his empire, and that no change of faith or of religious profession shall expose a subject of his Highness to persecution, oppression, or to any ill-treatment whatever; and especially that no Mohammedan, whether such by birth or by profession, who embraces Christianity, shall henceforth be put to death, or molested in any way, on account of his change of belief.

Your memorialists, aware that the Porte has many difficulties to surmount, arising from the prejudices of different classes of its subjects, in giving effect to the promises of religious liberty so generously granted to the Protestants as well as to its other subjects, earnestly beseech your Majesty to order that every possible means shall be employed to aid the Turkish Government in carrying out its benevolent intentions, and in preventing

influential persons in the empire from persecuting their poorer fellow-citizens, so that, in all the States of his Highness the Sultan, especially the provinces remote from the capital, all officers of the Government should be made responsible for the strict performance of their duty in such cases.

Sire, in order to effect this desirable object, we believe that it is essential, and humbly request that the Consuls and Consular Agents in Turkey, should be directed to keep a constant eye on the local authorities, and to report to their ambassadors immediately and particularly every infringement upon the principles of religious liberty which may come to their knowledge, in the administration of justice or otherwise.

Your memorialists entertain the hope that, by means of the legitimate influence which your Majesty possesses with your august Ally, in concert with the other Powers represented at the Porte, Christians shall soon see the complete abolition of those cruel and oppressive laws and customs which deprive so many subjects of the Porte of liberty of conscience, Mussulmans as well as Christians.

Culling Eardley Eardley, Bart.
The Count de St. George, formerly Major in the Army of the Netherlands.
John Ch. Berger, Captain and Member of the Academy of Fine Arts at Stockholm.
F. W. Krummacher, D.D., Preacher to the Court at Potsdam.
R. Baird, D.D., of the United States of America.
J. C. Meille, Pastor at Turin.
Adolphe Monod, Pastor of the Reformed Church of Paris.
Alex. Duff, D.D., LL.D., Minister and Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland.

III.

Copy of the Reply of the British Ambassador.

Paris, Sept. 12, 1855.

Sir,—I lost no time in forwarding to the Earl of Clarendon the petition, addressed to Her Majesty the Queen, which you, at the head of a deputation from the Society of Friends of Religious Liberty, did me the honour to place in my hands, on the 5th

instant, and I have been instructed by his Lordship to inform you that the question of religious freedom in Turkey continues to engage the anxious attention of Her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, COWLEY.

To Sir C. E. Eardley, Bart, &c.

IV.—(1.)

Copy of the Reply of the Dutch Ambassador.

SIR,—A zealous defender myself of religious liberty, I have lost no time in despatching, by this day's post, to his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, the address you were kind enough to send me. As soon as I receive an answer, I shall not fail to send it to you.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

LIGHTENVELT,
Minister of the Netherlands.

To Sir Culling Eardley, Bart.

(2.)

SIR,—As a sequence to my communication of the 27th September, I have the honour to inform you that his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, my august master, fully appreciates the steps which the assembly of Evangelical Christians have taken, and is sensible of the importance of the considerations set forth in the address which was forwarded to his Majesty.

Seeing that his Majesty's Legation at Constantinople has always sought to promote the ends which the Evangelical Assembly has in view, and continues to do so whenever the occasion offers, his Majesty's Government think that just now they ought to abstain from so direct and public a demonstration as that suggested in the above-mentioned address. This, however, will not prevent his Majesty from following up the efforts he has already made, with all the zeal and the interest which the subject so fully deserves, and which it is earnestly hoped will, with those efforts made by other parties, lead to a state of things to which Christendom should attach the highest value.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my very distinguished consideration. LIGHTENVELT,
Minister of the Netherlands.

To Sir Culling Eardley, Bart.

V.

Reply from Prussia to the Memorial on Religious Liberty in Turkey.

London, 12th Dec., 1855.
Prussian Legation.

Sir,—As the Evangelical Conference which met last summer at Paris is dissolved, and as you are one of the principal persons who signed the Address dated September 5th ult., which the members of that Conference have transmitted to the King my august Sovereign, through the medium of his Minister at Paris, I am charged to express through you to those who signed that petition the sentiments of sympathy with which his Majesty has received it, and the interest, already well known, which he takes in the object of the address. The King continues to entertain the most lively sympathy in the fate of all the Christians, and in particular of the Evangelical Christians of the Ottoman Empire, and will lose no opportunity of proving it by facts so far as circumstances may permit him. His Majesty believes, however, that the chief influence in that respect will be able to be exerted by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty; and not doubting that the wishes of the Evangelical Christians represented in the Conference have secured a reception equally favourable from that august Sovereign, the King will be always ready to support in the most efficacious manner, and by all the means in his power, every step that the Queen of England may take with the object of accomplishing those desires.

Requesting you, Sir, to be good enough to be the interpreter of these sentiments and of these assurances of His Majesty, to the other gentlemen who have signed the address in question, I profit with pleasure by this occasion to renew to you the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

Le Comte de Bernstorff.

To Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart.

MEMORIAL ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN GERMANY.

The intention of the Conference in relation to the proposed deputation to some of the Sovereigns of Europe was, that the brethren named by them for the purpose should have proved the nucleus of a much larger number, and it was given in charge to the Homburg Committee to invite other Churches and religious societies in different countries to send representatives to unite with them. An extensive correspondence was accordingly carried on from London for the purpose. Difficulties, however, arose from the lateness of the season and other causes, so that it was found impossible to carry this part of the design into effect; and even the greater part of the brethren named by the Conference found themselves unable to discharge the duty to which they had been called. Ultimately, as will be seen from the names appended to the following Memorial presented to the King of Prussia, the deputation consisted only of four gentlemen from the four countries of England, France, Germany, and Belgium. They were, however, honoured with a most gracious audience by his Majesty, who, also, to meet their convenience, received them at Cologne, on occasion of his Majesty's visit to that city to lay the foundation of a new bridge across the Rhine. The gracious assurance given them by the King, that he would represent the subject to the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg, made it the less necessary, in the judgment of the deputation, that they should visit that monarch, and the year was now too far advanced to allow of their proceeding to Sweden.

MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA, AT COLOGNE, BY A DEPUTATION FROM THE EVANGELICAL ASSEMBLY OF PARIS, OCTOBER 4, 1855.

I.

[Translation.]

TO HIS MAJESTY FREDERIC WILLIAM IV., KING OF PRUSSIA.

Cologne, Oct. 3, 1855.

SIRE,—We are deputed to wait upon your Majesty by a Christian Assembly which held its meetings in Paris from the 22nd of August to the 1st of September, 1855. Among the 1,200 persons (including females) who had tickets of admission, there were pastors and Christian people from many countries and from almost every Christian denomination. The countries represented were France, Great Britain with its dependencies, Prussia with several other parts of Germany, Austria, Italy, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, and the United States of America. The Assembly was convoked in the following terms:—

"The Conference admits to the number of its members all Christians who, desiring to live in brotherly love, express their intention of confessing, with it, conformably to the inspired Word of God, their common faith in God the Saviour; in the Father, who loved them and justified them by grace, through faith in His Son; in the Son, who redeemed them by His expiatory sacrifice; and in the Holy Spirit, the author of their regeneration, and of their sanctification; one God blessed for ever, to whose glory they desire to consecrate their life."

Your Majesty perceives that the Assembly admitted to its bosom all Christians who profess the common faith in the revealed Word, and who did not feel themselves excluded by their own peculiar views.

The Deputation has the honour also of placing in the hands of your Majesty a general invitation to prayer, addressed by the Assembly to all Christians, and which is circulated in the countries represented in their respective languages. This document will prove to your Majesty that the Assembly placed its dependance upon God alone, and was animated by a purely religious spirit.

The Assembly instructed us respectfully to solicit an audience

of your Majesty, in order to bring under your Majesty's notice the numerous infringements of liberty of conscience and of worship, which at the present time are taking place.

It further directed us to act under the guidance of the "Committee for the Promotion of Religious Liberty," of which the Earl of Shaftesbury was nominated President at the Conference, held in Homburg, in 1852. We have to report to that Committee the result of our mission.

We approach you, Sire, as the principal defender of the Protestant cause on the Continent, and as the universally recognised friend of religious liberty. It is well known that your Majesty associated Count de Bonin, whom you honour with your esteem, with the European Deputation to Florence in favour of the Madiai, and that you have personally manifested kindness towards the Christian community of Baptists in Prussia.

We are happy and grateful to know, and to express publicly, that the situation of Christian Dissenters in Prussia is much better than in other parts of Germany; nevertheless, the Baptists are subjected by the law to painful difficulties, which are particularly felt in some portions of the kingdom.

Their meetings for worship and preaching are forbidden or restricted; the colportage of religious books, and even of the Bible, is frequently prohibited and punished; and passports are refused them when they wish to visit their co-religionists in other parts of the country.

We will mention only a few facts from among many.

The Baptist preacher, Matthias, living at Rositten, near Königsberg, was sentenced to a fine of ten thalers; and seventeen persons with him were obliged to pay each five thalers for the same cause, in circumstances where there seemed occasion for the greatest clemency. This poor man is blind, and he was forced to walk on foot by the side of mounted gendarmes, through long and dirty roads; a carriage was brought for him by his friends, but his conductors would not allow him to use it. "Lass ihn bis über die Ohren im druck gehen" ("let him go over his ears in the filth"), said they, as their only words of commiseration. More recently, a schoolmaster, named Stangnowski, residing at Goyden, in the same province, was sentenced to a fine of ten thalers. He presented a humble petition to your Majesty, that the sentence might be annulled; this could not be accorded him, but your Majesty graciously deigned to pay the fine your-

self, the amount of which was sent by one of your Majesty's officers. Since then, however, he has been ordered to pay the expenses of the process, and is threatened with the seizure of his goods in case of refusal.

As an example of the hindrances thrown in the way of colportage, a colporteur named Wruck, living at Rogzow, near Coeslin, was, on the 11th of last September, condemned by the Royal Tribunal of the district of Coeslin, to a fine of fifty thalers, or in default of payment, to six weeks' imprisonment, for having hawked Bibles and New Testaments without being provided with the necessary license. But this license had been refused him, although he had applied for it, and nothing was objected against him except his religious principles.

As an instance of the refusal of passports, a man named Doersksen, at Tilsit, demanded at several offices, and even in high quarters, a passport to enable him to travel freely; but the Minister of the Police confirmed the refusal of the local authority, which involved him in serious inconvenience, affecting his private interests, besides depriving him of his personal liberty, on account of his religious opinions.

Several other cases might be mentioned, which have occurred in the provinces.

Your Majesty is aware that these things are possible only because the Baptists are not a recognised body like the United Brethren and the Dissident Lutherans. We are, therefore, charged humbly to pray your Majesty that the Baptists may be "recognised." And this we do not ask for them as Baptists, since we hold ourselves free either to approve or to deny their particular views, but we ask it for them in conformity with the principle avowed by the Paris Conference—"That it is the right of every man, in so far as his fellow-men are concerned, to worship God, as well publicly as in private, according to his conscience; and to propagate the faith which he holds by every means not contrary to morals or good order, or to that obedience to Government which is enjoined in the Word of God."

We desire to add, that if the men for whom we ask liberty of conscience and of worship in the same manner as we ask it for ourselves in our respective countries—if these men employed religion as a cloak for political designs, we should not intercede for them; for our mission is purely religious. But it is a recognised fact, that they scrupulously restrict themselves within the

limits of faith in the Word of God. We venture, therefore, to hope that your Majesty, in deigning to take measures for the attainment of the object which we have ventured to indicate, will set a glorious example to Germany and to all Europe. To do so will be to confer a benefit on the entire Protestant Church, for it will powerfully tend to relieve it from the reproach of inconsistency, to which in many instances it appears to be exposed, to the great grief of those who love it, and to deprive its adversaries of a pretext for interdicting its worship and preventing the propagation of its principles in other countries.

We have said that in other parts of Germany the situation of Dissenters is less tolerable than in Prussia. Alas! the proofs abound in many German States. Not only is worship prohibited, not only is the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper considered a crime, for which Christians are imprisoned, but cases have even occurred in which the children of Baptists have been seized by the police and forcibly carried before the clergy in order to be baptized, and then the goods of the parents taken to pay the expenses of the process. The principal characteristic of these facts is, that the statesmen of these countries justify this system of persecution. We will not mention names, but we are able to certify these facts to your Majesty. A deputation from the "Committee for promoting Religious Liberty" has already applied to some of these Governments, and has received replies which have astonished and deeply afflicted us as Christians.

Among the cases the following may be mentioned:—

1. *Hesse Cassel.*—On the first day of last year M. Beyebach, of Hersfeld, was imprisoned at Schmalkalde, for having officiated as a Baptist missionary. In the town of Cassel, during the present year, the Baptists who met for worship have been arrested by the police, and even on Sunday were brought before the magistrate to be punished. The same missionary has been imprisoned in the Grand Duchy of Hesse.

2. *Mecklenburg Schwerin.*—In the month of June last, M. Wachs and M. Nörnberg were imprisoned at Techentin, near Ludwigslust, for having distributed tracts and for conversing on religious subjects. On the 21st of July, M. Nörnberg was again arrested at Grabow, where he was sentenced to a fine and was officially warned that another time, instead of a fine, *he would be subjected to corporal chastisement!* M. Wachs was condemned to

eight days' imprisonment, and for half of the time on bread and water. The 10th of last August, M. Wegener and M. Behnke were condemned to a fine of ten thalers each, and M. Wegener, in addition to six weeks' imprisonment (half of the time on bread and water), for having administered the sacrament. The same Christian has been imprisoned six times, and for the payment of the fines his goods have been sold seven times, including two cows, a pig, and a goat—the means of subsistence for his family.

In Mecklenburg-Schwerin the Baptists have in vain solicited the national clergy to celebrate their marriages, as they themselves have not the right to do so. The following is a recent case. A sailor, named Feindt, having been refused by several clergymen, determined to come to England with his intended bride, to be married. Arrived at Hamburg he was arrested on board the steamer, and he and his affianced were thrown into prison because they had not a passport. Being sent home by the authorities, he applied for a passport, which was refused him, and which had been refused before. The Government publicly declared that if the Baptists would not submit, there remained no other alternative but emigration. Consequently, in the month of July last, the preacher Kleppe left Hamburg, with twenty-six members, and twenty-three other persons, for America, but they did not depart from Europe without addressing a solemn protest against their compulsory exile to the Grand Duke and to the superior ecclesiastical authority.

3. In *Saxe Meiningen*, every Baptist meeting is punished by a fine of ten florins, and the distribution of tracts by a fine of fourteen florins or imprisonment. These Christians are obliged to meet in the woods, especially if they desire to celebrate the Lord's Supper.

4. In the Principality of *Schaumburg-Lippe*, they are subjected to one or two months' imprisonment for every public or private meeting. A householder letting a room for a meeting is liable to fourteen days' imprisonment. The same punishment awaits the distribution of tracts. If the Baptists administer the sacraments, ordain to the ministry, or solemnise a marriage, they are punished with six months' imprisonment.

Two years ago, a shoemaker named Tecklenburg, six of his friends, and four women, of whom two carried infants in their arms, were imprisoned for a month on account of their Baptist

profession. He was sentenced to pay a heavy fine for not having his child baptized, and was then deprived of his liberty for refusing to pay it.

Mr. Bolzmann, of Hanover, suffered an imprisonment of six months, for the simple fact of having preached to his Baptist brethren.

Mr. Brinkmann, of Buchholz, in Bückeburg, was, a few days ago, required to pay a fine of twenty-five thalers, because he withdrew his daughter from school before she had been confirmed, although she was sixteen years old. The fine is two groschen for each day of absence, and might, therefore, be extorted during the whole life of the young person, if she should persist in the peculiar convictions of the Baptists. They commuted the fine of twenty-five thalers into thirty-seven days and two hours of imprisonment, and fixed the 1st of October as the time from which the criminal was to suffer his punishment.

Sire, your Majesty, who took a generous part in the deliverance of the Madiai, identifying yourself with Protestant Europe, may easily imagine what feelings will be produced by the publicity given to these facts. Shall Protestantism sin against its own principles, and imitate the tyranny of a system against which it is its glory to protest? How can it thus be able to maintain its position in opposition to the Papal system? And how can rulers, who deem it an honour to be Protestant Christians, while they thus follow the timid conduct of magistrates groaning under the domination of Romanism, expect the blessing of God on their counsels?

We feel assured that your Majesty will graciously exercise your high influence with the less considerable States of Germany, in order to put a stop to the evils we have now mentioned. No argument, however, will have greater weight with them than the example of Prussia. When a great kingdom is seen to grant religious liberty without danger, and even with advantage, lesser States will perceive how untenable their position will be, and how public opinion will pronounce against them, if they continue to refuse a similar concession.

Sire, one of the greatest wants of our epoch is the union of sincere Christians,—union founded on mutual forbearance, and on respect for individual convictions. Your Majesty and your Majesty's august father have understood this, and have given

proofs of it which are highly appreciated. What we desire to ask of your Majesty is, to promote the development of this Evangelical union, by causing religious liberty to be enjoyed by those Christians who, from conscientious motives, separate themselves from the National Church.

Your Majesty is to-day going to lay the first stone of an edifice, destined to connect the shores of a large river, and to unite the bonds of German nationality. What we have the honour of proposing to you, Sire, is even more valuable. In acceding to our wishes, your Majesty will procure for Germany and for the Christian Church a benefit, the moral value of which it is impossible too highly to estimate. By a generous initiative you will unite under the banner of the free confession of the truth as it is in Jesus, all the members of the Protestant Church of Germany. You will accomplish a work in which the Church now and the remotest generations will equally rejoice. In this hope, we beseech your Majesty to accept the respectful homage of your most humble and devoted servants,

(The members of the Deputation)

Culling Eardley Eardley, President of the Branch of the Evangelical Alliance in England.

L. Valette, Pastor in Paris of the Church of the Confession of Augsburg (Lutheran), France.

L. Bonnet, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Germany.

Ed. Panchaud, Pastor, Brussels, Belgium.

II.

Reply of the King of Prussia.

His Excellency the Count Bernstorff, Prussian Minister in England, to Sir Culling Eardley.

London, December 11th, 1855.
Prussian Legation.

Sir,—You were yourself a witness of the sympathy and interest with which the King my august Master received at Cologne the Deputation of the Evangelical Alliance. His Majesty's words have no need of being reiterated or commented upon, and the Deputation will have derived from them the

conviction that the cause of Christianity and of Evangelical liberty of conscience is to him a matter of heartfelt interest.

I rejoice, Sir, nevertheless, in being authorised by the King to express to you also in writing those sentiments in his name. You will learn at the same time with satisfaction, that his Majesty has ordered a strict enquiry (*une enquête scrupuleuse*), with reference to the cases of intolerance which may have taken place in his own States, so as to assure himself that the execution corresponds everywhere with his own favourable intentions; and that, moreover, the King has charged his representatives at the Courts of Electoral Hesse, Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, Saxe Meiningen, and Schaumburg-Lippe, to call the attention of those Governments respectively, at the proper time and place, to the facts alleged by the Deputation; to endeavour to provoke, on the part of the Governments, an examination of the facts, and to intercede with them, in the name of his Majesty, in favour of a legal and equitable liberty being granted to the Baptists in those countries.

Be kind enough, Sir, to bring what precedes to the knowledge of the Deputation, and to receive on this occasion the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

Le Comte De Bernstorff.

To Sir C. E. Eardley, Bart.

CALL TO CONCERT IN PRAYER.

INVITATION TO PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.

ADDRESSED TO ALL CHRISTIANS BY THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

Since the year 1846, when renewed efforts were made to promote a closer union between the members of the Church Universal, many Christians have agreed among themselves to unite in prayer on a particular day in every week. The number of those who have adopted this godly practice has continually increased; and for several years past the same day has witnessed Christians in different parts of the world offering up the same prayers for their brethren.

The Paris Conference reiterates this appeal, and urges the adoption of the practice upon all their brethren. They invite all Christians to agree in presenting their prayers to the Lord on a fixed day in every week, for the following objects:—

1. For the prosperity of the Church of Christ; especially imploring the blessing of God on missionary labours, whether home or foreign, established in those countries to which the persons whose signatures are attached to this document belong.

2. For the union of Christians in each country, and for the union of Christians of different countries, as all constituting the different members of the same body, which is the Church of Christ.

3. That it may please God speedily to remove those obstacles which prevent the universal extension of His kingdom, and to put an end to every system of error, idolatry, and unbelief, which opposes itself to the doctrine of the Gospel.

4. That He would be pleased to hasten the general accomplishment of prophecy, and of those promises in particular which are made to Israel and to the world at large, through them.

5. That all who unite in these prayers may, through the

grace of the Holy Spirit, make progress in faith, in sanctification, and in spiritual peace.

Monday morning is the time which has hitherto been observed for this united prayer.

Christians who receive a copy of this appeal are requested to have it translated into the languages of their respective countries. It is desirable that copies should be multiplied, and that Christian families should be invited to procure and circulate them, and to exhibit them in their houses, in order that as great a number of supplicants as possible may present themselves every week with the same supplications before the throne of God their Saviour on the day appointed.

G. Fisch,
H. J. Grandpierre, } For France.

F. W. Krummacher,
Ed. Kuntze, } For Germany.

C. E. Eardley,
Carr John Glyn, } For England.

Alexander de St. George,
Adrien Naville, } For Switzerland.

L. De Sanctis,
J. P. Meille, } For Italy.

Elout de Souterwoude,
A. Capadose, M.D., } For Holland.

Ed. Panchaud,
Leonard Anet, } For Belgium.

C. H. A. Kalkar,—For Denmark.

C. Bergman, Pastor,
J. Berger, Captain, } For Sweden.

R. Baird, D.D.,
G. H. Stuart, } For the United States.

W. G. Schauffler,—For Turkey.

LIST OF BRETHREN PRESENT

AT THE

CONFERENCE.

LIST OF BRETHREN PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE.

FROM FRANCE (98 NAMES.)

Alexandre, M., at Sains (Aisne).
Alexandre, M., School-Director at Meaux (Seine-et-Marne).
Amphoux, M., Pastor at Havre (Seine-Inférieure).
Armand, M., Pastor at Beaumont (Drôme).
Armaingaud, M., at Cette (Hérault).
Avesque, M., Merchant at Colmar (Haut-Rhin).
Bachasse, M. Benjamin, Merchant at Mens (Isère).
Barnaud, M., Pastor at Thiat (Haut Vienne).
Barthe, M. Jean, Pastor at Cozes (Charente-Inférieure).
Bas, M. Jeremie, School-Director at Sainte-Opportune.
Bastide, M. A., Pastor at Avize (Gard).
Banzet, M., School-Director at Elbeuf (Seine-Inférieure).
Benignus, M. L., Pastor at Saint-Sauvant (Vienne).
Bérard, M. Simon, Pastor at Beaumont (Drôme).
Béziés, M. Timoléon, Pastor at Marseilles.
Beray, M., Pastor at Patay (Loiret).
Bing, M. Lévy, Banker at Nancy (Meurthe).
Blanc, M. Henri, Pastor at Angers (Maine-et-Loire.)
Blin, M., Pastor at Nanroy (Aisne).
Boegner, M. Ch. H., Professor at the Protestant Gymnasium at Strasbourg.
Boileau, M., Pastor at Denain (Nord).
Boissard, M., Pastor at Tosnes (Loir-et-Cher).
Bois, M. Charles, Pastor at Montmeyran (Drôme).
Boitel, M. Théophile, Manufacturer at Templeux (Aisne).
Bonifas-Guizot, M., Professor of Hebrew at the Protestant Faculty of Montauban.
Bonifas, M. Ernest, Pastor at Ganges (Hérault).
Bonnard, M. Zacharie, Pastor at Bolbec (Seine-Inférieure).

Borel, M. L. C. F., at Die (Drôme).
Bornand, M. Jules, Pastor at Nancy (Meurthe).
Bosc, M., Pastor at Ancelon (Drôme).
Bost, M. J. Aug., Pastor at Sédan (Ardennes).
Boubilla, M., Pastor at Huismes (Indre-et-Loire).
Bourguet, M. P. A., Pastor at Pont-de-Camarès (Aveyron).
Bourguet, M. Benj., M.D., Pont-de-Camarès (Aveyron).
Braud, M. Racine, Editor of the "Bulletin du Monde Chrétien," at Fontainebleau.
Bretenier, M., Pastor.
Brun, M. Fr., Pastor and Director of the Model School at Dieu-le-Fêt.
Cadier, M. A., Pastor at Blois (Loir-et-Cher).
Caillatte, M., Pastor at Lemé (Aisne).
Cassignard, M., Pastor at Beaufort (Drôme).
Cattelain, M., Pastor at Tarsac.
Clavel, M. J., Pastor at Sancerre (Cher).
Cleisz, M., at Vitry-le-François (Marne).
Colomb, M. Oscar, at Privas (Ardèche).
Cook, M. Charles, D.D., President of the Methodist Conference at Nîmes.
Cook, M. Emile, Methodist Pastor at Nyons (Drôme).
Corter, M., at Boulogne (Pas-de-Calais).
Coste, M., Merchant, at Arras.
Coste, M. Georges, at Arras.
Culinam, M. Théodore, Pastor.
Cuvier, M., Pastor at Beaucourt (Moselle).
Defaysse-Soubeyran, M., at Lyon (Rhône).
Delbart, M. T. A., Pastor at l'Ile-de-Ré.
Delmas, M., Pastor at La Rochelle.
Delmas, M. Gustave, Bachelor of Divinity.
Deroca, M., Merchant at Lyon (Rhône).
Descombaz, M., Pastor of the Evangelical Church at Lyon.
Dhombres, M. Ernest, Pastor at Alais.
Dorne, M., Pastor at Matha (Haute-Vienne).
Douen, M. O., Pastor at Quineg-Légy.
Douen, M., Merchant at Lemé (Aisne).
Dumur, M., Pastor.
Duproix, M. J. C.
Duproix, M. Paul.
Duproix, M. Joseph, Pastor at Macon (Saône-et-Loire).
Dussart, M., Student at Gaubert.
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